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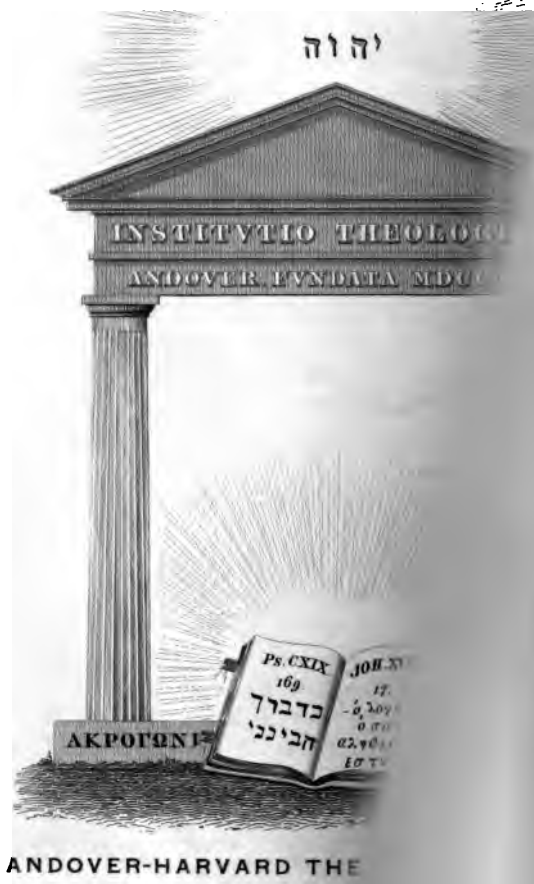
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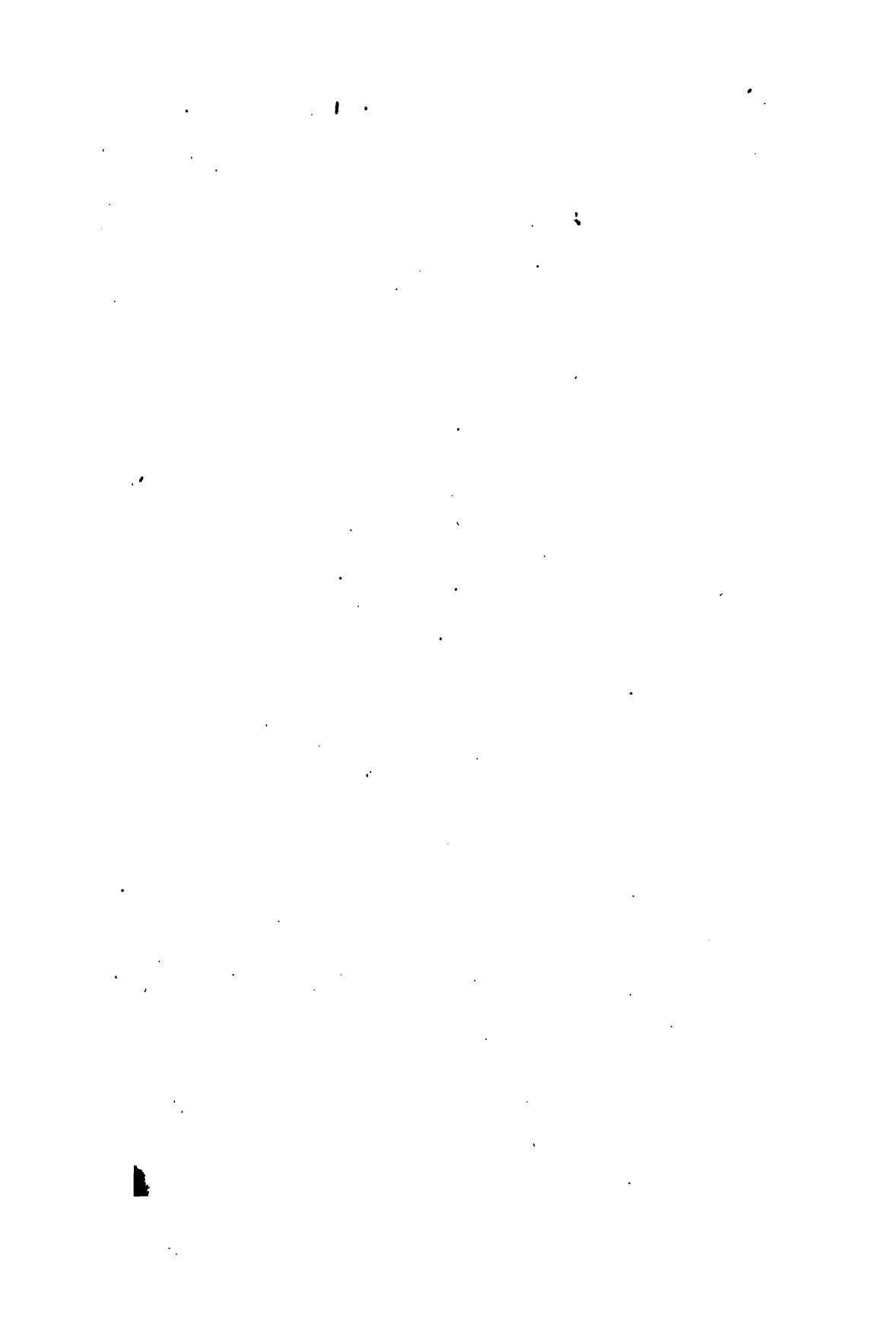












ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES  
OR  
*Indian Wars*  
BY

*G. Hoyt Esq*



GREENFIELD MASS

PUBLISHED BY ANSEL PHELPS

1824



**ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES:**

COMPRISING

**A HISTORY**

OF THE

**INDIAN WARS**

IN THE COUNTRY

BORDERING CONNECTICUT RIVER AND PARTS ADJACENT,

AND

*Other interesting Events,*

FROM THE FIRST LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS, TO THE CONQUEST OF

CANADA BY THE ENGLISH, IN 1760:

WITH

NOTICES OF INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS

IN THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRY:

AND OF THE FIRST PLANTING AND PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENTS

IN NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK AND CANADA.

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By **E. HOYT, Esq.**

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*Greenfield, Mass.*

PRINTED BY ANSEL PHELPS.

**Dec. 1824.**

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*District Clerk's Office.*

L. S. } BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty fifth day of October, A. D.  
1824, in the forty ninth year of the independence of the United States  
of America, EPAPHRAS HOYT, of the said district hath deposited in this office the  
title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, *to wit* :  
“Antiquarian Researches: comprising a History of the Indian Wars in the coun-  
try bordering Connecticut river, and parts adjacent, and other interesting events,  
from the first landing of the Pilgrims, to the conquest of Canada by the English in  
1760; with notices of Indian depredations in the neighboring country, and of the  
first planting and progress of settlements in New England, New York and Canada.  
By E. HOYT, Esq.”

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tioned;” and also to an act, intituled “an act supplementary to an act intituled an  
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tioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and  
etching historical and other prints.”

JNO. W. DAVIS.

*Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*



## PREFACE.

Among the objects that attract the attention of the inquisitive in all countries, as they advance in arts, science, and literature, and consequently civilization, few are sought with more avidity than those relating to their early history; and this avidity seems to increase in direct proportion to the antiquity of a country.

Whether this arises from a sort of puerility introduced by a false refinement, or from improvement in intellect, will not here be discussed. But, be this as it may, it will not be denied that a majority of mankind are gratified, on viewing fields where conflicting forces have commingled in bloody strife, and in contemplating, in their leisure hours, the dangers and sufferings of departed heroes. Nor will it be doubted, that a writer (Dr. Johnson, if I mistake not) expressed the genuine sentiment of humanity, when he said, "Far be from me or my friends, such frigid philosophy, as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved, over any ground that has been dignified by wisdom, bravery or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

Partaking of this sentiment, which seems to be growing among the inquisitive in our own country, and particularly of a zeal for looking over the military operations, in which our forefathers evinced the most persevering resolution, in their various wars with the Indians and French, the author of the following work was induced to examine, with critical care, the history of those arduous times, for minute details of the numerous events. In this examination it was found, that they were scattered through many historical works, some of which were voluminous, others very brief, and in none were to be found notices of the whole of the interesting transactions. So far as relates to the country on Connecticut river, within the limits of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, many were found to be omitted, of which the author possesses authentic documents.

Unwilling that these should "go down to the vale of oblivion," he undertook the task of collecting and arranging materials for a work, in which these omissions should be supplied, and the whole of the most interesting transactions, concatenated in a volume of moderate size; and after much research, laborious beyond anticipation, and visiting the sites of many battles, to acquire such topographical information, as would enable him to describe with some degree of *military precision*, the volume, here offered to the public, was completed.

It would be difficult to cite the whole of the documents, from which the materials for the work have been drawn, for they are considerably numerous; and as the author has been sometime in collecting them, hardly within his recollection. For much original matter, he is indebted to a collection of valuable manuscripts, found among the descendants of the late colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield, who, after the death of colonel John Stoddard of Northampton, was intrusted with the command of the forces, employed on the western frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and to whom the early settlers, in that section of country, were much indebted for long and able services. Some facts have also been obtained from letters and journals, of other gentlemen in the same quarter of the country; and others from oral relations of people, whose silvered locks and wrinkled visages, added double interest to the many hardships, dangers and exploits in which they shared, in "olden times."

Among the early American works, which have been consulted for facts, are—Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, and his History of New England—Dr. Prince's Chronological History of New England—Morton's New England Memorial—Church's History of Philip's War—Dr. Mather's Magnalia—Rev. John Williams' Redeemed Captive—Colden's History of the Five Nations—Smith's of New York—Hutchinson's of Massachusetts—Forster's Collection of Northern Voyages; besides the Histories of the several New England States, by more recent writers. But none have afforded more aid, than the *American Annals* of Dr. Holmes, which contain a mass of materials, selected from the best historical

and other works. The valuable Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, have also furnished much important matter, relating to the settlement of the country, as well as to subsequent events. For the perusal of several *rare works*, the author, with great pleasure, acknowledges his indebtedness to the Athenæum in Boston; an institution which reflects the highest honor on its proprietors, not only from its liberal regulations, but from its valuable collection of books.

In noticing the first settlement of towns, some pains have been taken to insert their *Indian names*. But here a difficulty has occurred, from the difference in their orthography, as given by different writers; and in some instances, perhaps from a culpable inattention of himself and his printer, they are given with some variation. —Another difficulty has been met, in the different manner of dating at different periods. Before the *new style* was adopted in England, in 1752, it was common to begin the year on the 25th of March; but for some years prior, as well as after, the dates from January to the 25th of March were expressed in the fractional form, thus, 1703-4—1752-3, &c.; and as this was not always attended to by the writers of the times, anachronisms, may have been committed. In general the early dates, in this work, will require the addition of *twelve days*, to fit them to the present reckoning.

In most cases where documents have been found ample, minute details have been attempted, while in others where they were less so, they are more condensed; and from this circumstance, it will be observed, that the military operations on the Connecticut are generally more full than those in other parts of New England, and that some of minor importance, in the eastern quarter, are omitted. Perhaps to some, the particular details of many events, may appear as tediously minute, and the insertion of the names of the sufferers, as supererogatory. The author is of a different opinion; he believes that among the numerous posterity of the sufferers, these will not be considered as uninteresting parts of the work. The operations of the armies in New York, in the war of 1755, are necessarily condensed, and the exploits of the partisan corps under majors Putnam and Rogers, but partially noticed. A minute History of these Campaigns, which the author has nearly completed, may hereafter be offered to the public.

To the critical reader, great defects will doubtless appear in the style of the work; for the author lays no claims to skill in literary composition. Indeed in looking it over in *print*, he finds many places susceptible of amendments. For these defects, the following is offered as an apology. The work does not aspire to the dignity of a regular History, but to *researches into the antiquities of our country*; and as a complete History of New England is still a desideratum, an accumulation of *facts*, however unskillfully given, will not be considered as unimportant. If then, the work shall add any of importance to the present stock, and afford entertainment to those who feel an interest in the recital of the hardships and exploits of our forefathers, and at the same time aid the future historian in his *researches*, the author will rest satisfied;—for he deems it of more importance, that *facts* should accumulate, than that he should be thought even a passable writer.

*Deerfield, December 1824.*

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Preparations for the campaign of 1758.... Incursion of the Indians at Colrain.... Garrisons at the frontier towns.... Depredations at Hinsdale and Charlestown.... Army assembles at lake George under general Abercrombie.... Passes the lake.... Affair at the landing.... Fall of lord Howe.... Army advances to the mills.... Attack on the French lines.... Severe repulse—Army returns to the south end of lake George.... Capture of Frontenac—Surrender of Louisburg.... General Forbe's expedition.... Inactivity of Abercrombie.... General Amherst arrives with reinforcements.... Plan of the campaign of 1759.... Garrison at Charlestown.... Early incursion at Colrain.... Army under general Amherst.... Invests Ticonderoga.... French evacuate that place and Crown Point.... Amherst resolves to destroy the village of St. Francis.... His orders to major Rogers.... Detachment proceeds down lake Champlain.... Lands at Missisquoi bay.... Nature of the country to be traversed.... Loss of boats and provisions.... Plan adopted for a supply of the latter.... Embarrassments of the march.... Attack on the village.... Slaughter of the enemy.... Flourishing state of the place.... Rogers commences his march for Coos intervals.... Provisions exhausted.... Separates into several parties.... Attacks by the enemy.... Rogers arrives at Coos.... Disappointed in meeting provisions.... Substitute for food.... Embarks on a raft and descends the Connecticut.... Incidents of the voyage.... Arrives at Charlestown.... Loss in the expedition.... Operations of generals Wolf and Johnson.... Forces on the frontiers of Massachusetts discharged.... Plan of the campaign of 1760.... Conquest of Canada—Previous operations of colonel Goffe's regiment—Incursion at Charlestown—Peace of 1763—Joy of the colonies—Grants of towns by governor Wentworth—Enterprize of the planters of the New Hampshire grants—Dartmouth college—Disputes with New York—Hampshire grants declare themselves independent—Admitted into the union—Subsequent military events at Royalston—Militia marches—Retreat of the enemy—More recent events on Connecticut river—Concluding remarks. Page 295.

THE *vignette* on the engraved title page, is a sketch of the falls on Connecticut river, where captain Turner cut off the Indians in 1676. See page 129.

The *plate* facing page 190, presents a view of the old House in Deerfield, which escaped the conflagration of that place, in 1704. See page 189.

### ERRATA.

OWING to the absence of the author while part of the work was in press, and the indistinct hand in which the manuscript was delivered to the printer, the following typographical errors have occurred.

PAGE.	LINE.	
		80 11 from bottom, for <i>assemble</i> read <i>assembled</i> .
2	7	For <i>different</i> , read <i>definite</i>
		—same line for <i>most</i> , read
		<i>more</i> .
Do.	2d note, for 1, vol. 2, read	115 16 from bottom, for <i>apprised</i> read <i>apprized</i> .
	1, vol. 1.	
3	10	Dele the semicolon after
		quarter and insert a period.
Do.	Note, for <i>pinus strobeus</i> ,	128 11 dele <i>over</i> .
	read <i>pinus strobus</i> .	
4	19	for <i>Rogue</i> , read <i>Rogue</i> .
Do.	In the two <i>Notes</i> , transpose	165 22 for <i>demon</i> read <i>demons</i> .
	the characters * and †.	184 Note 2d, for <i>linto</i> read <i>lento</i> .
6	10	from bottom, for <i>Chaurin</i> ,
		read <i>Chauvin</i> .
10	9	for 1808, read 1608.
13	8	from bottom for 1649, read
		1549.
22	17	for <i>impowered</i> read <i>em-</i>
		<i>powred</i> .
30	10	from bottom, for <i>whence</i>
		read <i>where</i> .
43	23	<i>where had</i> read <i>where he had</i>
51	Note 2d. for <i>afterwards</i> read	300 9 dele <i>and</i> .
	<i>father of</i> .	310 6 for <i>beach</i> read <i>beech</i> .
		311 18 for 1763 read 1664.

Several instances of transposition and omission of letters and erroneous orthography, as well as incorrect punctuation, where the meaning is not distorted, are left for the correction of the reader, rather than to swell the list, which the author regrets is so large.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE discovery of the northern part of the Continent of America, by the Cabots, five years after the first voyage of Columbus had developed the existence of a new world in the west, gave rise to the claims of the English in North America. At that period it seems to have been a principle, at least by tacit consent, among the monarchs of Europe, that countries inhabited by savages, should become the property of the discoverer. A ship ranging along a new coast, without once entering a creek or haven, appears to have conferred a title, as complete, as those executed with all the formalities of modern times.

Bigotry and superstition, sanctioned these furtive claims. Soon after the first voyage of Columbus, Pope Alexander the sixth, a Spaniard by birth, then the spiritual head of Europe, under a claim no better founded, granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, "all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover, extending the grant to their heirs and successors, the Kings and Queens of Castile and Leon." A similar grant had been made to the Portuguese government, of the discoveries they were making in the east; and they claimed by the same *right*, the Azores. To prevent subsequent disputes between the two nations, His Holiness decreed, that a meridian line, passing through a point one hundred leagues west of these islands, should be the boundary between the newly discovered countries; the Spaniards to hold all on the west, and the Portuguese, all on the east of the prescribed line, not then possessed by any Christian prince.

However well informed the pontiff might have been, in spiritual affairs, his infallibility seems not to have taught him the globular figure of the earth, nor the existence of the antipodes, to whom he was bound to extend his ecclesiastical aid. Conceiving the earth to be an extended plane, it did not occur to him that his prescribed boundary, was insufficient for the object intended, and that the two nations would, by extending their discoveries, the one east, and the other west, find themselves embarrassed with conflicting claims, in some remote part of the earth.

The papal partition was not satisfactory to the Portuguese: they afterwards agreed with the Spaniards, that the boundary line should be removed two hundred leagues further to the west, and the affair was settled by the formal signatures of the kings of Spain and Portugal, in 1494, after it had been submitted to six plenipotentiaries, three from each nation. France and England, though maritime nations, did not share in the munificence of the pope; and when they afterwards sent out vessels, for the purpose of discovery in the west, the two favourite nations, considered the attempt as an invasion of their rights, and a gross departure from papal authority. The king of France was not intimidated at these complaints. When he saw his brethren of Spain and Portugal, quietly dividing the continent of America between them, without allowing him to come in for a share, as a

brother, he facetiously said, "I should be glad to see the clause in Adam's will, which makes that continent their inheritance exclusively."\*

Titles derived from prior discovery, have been considered valid in latter times; but it appears they are not always so complete, as to prevent disputes between monarchs, concerning their priority; and conflicting claims have often been set up, by different powers, not only on this ground, but from a want of different bounds. A most critical examination of the principles of these titles, has now taught us, that immemorable occupancy, is paramount to all other claims; and that the right of the aborigines, to the lands they occupied, when first discovered by Europeans, is no longer doubtful.

As most of the wars with the Indians in North America, originated in the conflicting claims of the maritime nations of Europe, a brief history of the most important voyages of discovery in the west, seems to be necessary, as an introduction to the following work.

The discoveries by John Cabot, and his son Sebastian Cabot, were made under the patronage of Henry the 7th, king of England. In the early part of May, 1497, with two ships, and three hundred men, they sailed from England; and on the twenty fourth of June, discovered land which they named *Prima Vista*, supposed to be some part of the Island of Newfoundland; and a few days after they saw a small Island, which they named St. John. Continuing the voyage northerly, they discovered the coast of North America, and proceeded to the latitude of 67° 30' N. Changing their course, they sailed to the southward, along the coast as far as Florida, and thence returned to England, without attempting either settlement or conquest.†

Though the English had discovered this division of the continent, no attempts were immediately made by them to colonize it; and sometime elapsed before other nations visited the coast. In 1500 a Portuguese adventurer, Casper de Cortereal, in defiance of the restrictions of the pope, sailed from Lisbon, with two ships, at his own expense, for the purpose of exploring new countries in the west. Arriving at the Island of Newfoundland, he discovered and named *Conception Bay*, and afterwards explored the eastern coast of the island; sailed into the mouth of the great river of Canada, and saw several other parts of the continent. Cortereal returned to Lisbon; sailed on his second voyage, and was lost.

Vessels of various nations, soon began to hover on the coast of Newfoundland, for the purpose of taking fish, which were found in great abundance in the adjacent seas; and in 1508, Thomas Aubert, from Dieppe, in France, made a voyage to Newfoundland, and thence proceeded some distance up the great river of Canada. On his return, it is stated, he carried several of the natives to Paris.

Francis 1st. king of France, now resolved to share with his brother monarchs, in the riches of the new world. In 1523, he sent out John Verazzani, a Florentine, with four ships, to prosecute discoveries in North America. In the course of the next year, Verazzani coasted the

\* Abbe Raynal, quoted in Sullivan's History of Maine.

† Respecting the date of this voyage, historians are not agreed; some place it in 1494. Holmes, on whom we rely, fixes it in 1497. See Note. 1, Vol. 2.

North American continent, from 28 to 50 degrees of north latitude; discovered Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard, and is said to have entered the harbor of New York. To the country he gave the name of New France. In the following year he made another voyage, and with his crew was lost.

The success of the Spaniards in amassing wealth in the southern parts of America, stimulated the king of France to further efforts in the north. In 1534, James Cartier was appointed to the command of two ships and one hundred and twenty two men, for the purpose of making discoveries in that quarter; Leaving St. Malo in April; he on the tenth of May arrived at Newfoundland—coasted nearly round the Island—entered what is now called the Gulph of St Lawrence—saw the mouth of Canada river, and discovered the bays of Gaspe and Chaleurs; but returned to France without attempting a settlement.

The next year, Cartier sailed again for Canada, under a royal commission, with three ships, accompanied by a number of volunteers, desirous of making their fortunes in the new world. After a boisterous passage, he arrived at the mouth of the river of Canada, which he named St. Lawrence. Continuing his voyage up the river, he reached the Isle of Orleans, to which he gave the name of Bacchus Island, from the great quantity of vines with which it abounded. At a river higher up, which he named after himself *Jaques Cartier*, he left two of his ships, and proceeded with the other into lake St. Pierre, where finding the water shallow, he left the ship, and with two boats and a pinnace, well manned and armed, continued up the river to Hochelaga, now Montreal, and landed the second of October. Here he found a large body of Indians, who gave him a very friendly reception. Their village consisted of about fifty dwelling houses, each fifty paces long and fourteen broad, the whole inclosed with palisades, through which was but one passage; and around the inside of the fortification, an elevated stage, which could be ascended only by ladders. On this stage were deposited a large quantity of stones, to be thrown upon an enemy in case of an attack; the surrounding grounds were covered with handsome groves of oak, and fields of corn; provisions were abundant, and wholesome; the houses warm and convenient, and well supplied with skins and furs for lodgings: the whole exhibiting a degree of improvement, much beyond what had been seen any where among the northern savages of America.

During his continuance in the river, Cartier and his men, though kindly treated by the natives, and well supplied with provisions, suffered severely from the scurvy. A remedy was at length prescribed by the Indians; but previously to its application, twenty five men died of the disease.\* For the humane treatment he had received from the Indians, Cartier presented them hatchets, knives, beads and rings, which they received with demonstrations of high satisfaction. Before he left the place, the Indians conducted him to the summit of the hill, under which their village was built, and pointed out the course of the St. Lawrence from the west; and they informed him that he might sail on it for three moons, without reaching its source; that it ran through two or three lakes, beyond

\* The medicine was a decoction of the leaves and inner bark of the white pine, (*pinus strobus*).—*Forster's Voyages and Discoveries in the North*, p. 440.

which there was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no limits; that on the other side of the mountain, there was another river which ran to the southwest, through a country where there was neither ice nor snow; and that there were such metals as silver, gold and copper to be found in the territory.\*

On the fourth of October, Cartier and his men, left the place—embarked on board his ships, and returned to the Isle of Orleans on the eleventh; where they wintered, and made some ineffectual efforts to found a colony. Early next spring they sailed for France, accompanied by several of the natives, one of whom was a chief.

Though Cartier, on his return, gave a very flattering account of the country on the St. Lawrence, and pointed out the advantages which would accrue to the French nation, from colonization, and a trade in furs, which were found in great abundance, yet the king was not disposed to patronize a colony in a country, in which the adventurers had not been so fortunate as to discover gold and silver mines; at that time, the grand desideratum of the European monarchs.

Notwithstanding the rejection of Cartier's advice, a nobleman of Picardy—Francis de la Rogue, lord of Roberval, created by the king, lieutenant general and viceroy of Canada, fitted out several ships at his own expense, and sent Cartier with a royal commission, again to Canada, in 1540. On his arrival, Cartier built a fort and began a settlement, which he called Charlebourg, near what is now Quebec. On his return in 1542, Cartier met Roberval with three ships and two hundred men, women and children, destined to recruit the intended settlement in Canada; Cartier continued his voyage to France, and Roberval proceeded up the St. Lawrence, four leagues above the Isle of Orleans; and finding a convenient harbor, built a fort and remained at the place through the winter. At what time he returned to France, or how many people he left at the settlement, does not appear. But in 1549, we find that Roberval, with his brother and a numerous train of adventurers, embarked for the St. Lawrence, and were not heard of afterwards; probably they perished at sea. The few settlers in Canada were now left to their own exertions; nor did they receive further aid from their countrymen, for about fifty years.

These efforts to colonize Canada, were considered by the English, as encroachments on their territory, and to defeat the projects of the French, "Queen Elizabeth, in 1578, granted letters patent to sir Humphrey Gilbert, authorising him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. She vested in him, his heirs and assigns forever, the full right of property in the soil of those countries, of which he should take possession, to hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore, found there—conferred complete jurisdiction within the said lands; and prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which sir Humphrey or his associates, should have occupied during the space of six years,"†

In virtue of his patent, in 1583, Gilbert sailed from England with two ships, three barks, and two hundred and sixty men, and discovered land

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. i. 111.

† Williams' Vermont, Vol. I.



about 51° north latitude; but finding the country rocky and sterile, he steered southward, and entered the bay of St. John, in Newfoundland, where he found thirty six vessels of various nations, employed in the fishing trade. Gilbert took possession of the harbor and country, two hundred leagues around, for the crown of England. Intent on further discoveries, he sailed from the island, and one of his ships was cast away among shoals, and almost one hundred souls perished.\* He soon after sailed for England; but his ship foundering in a violent storm, he was lost with all his crew; other vessels in company rode out the storm, and arrived without accident.

The territory now comprehended within the United States, though blest with a soil and climate more inviting than the northern regions, had received no colonies from Europe. In 1584, Elizabeth, queen of England, granted to sir Walter Raleigh "liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him should seem good; with prerogatives and jurisdictions as ample as had been granted to his brother, sir Humphrey Gilbert." In July, this year, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, two experienced commanders, who had been sent out by Raleigh, arrived on the coast of North America, and took possession of the country in the neighborhood of the Island of Wocokon, on the coast of North Carolina, where they had some intercourse with the natives; they afterwards landed on the Island of Roanoke, which they found inhabited by Indians. After various transactions, the adventurers returned to England, and gave so flattering an account of the country, that Elizabeth bestowed on it the name of Virginia, as a memorial that the discovery was made under a virgin queen. The next year, a fleet of seven sail, under sir Richard Grenville, proceeded to Virginia, and made various discoveries on the coast. Touching at Wocokon, he afterwards landed on the Island of Roanoke, where he left one hundred and seven persons, under the government of Ralph Lane, to commence a plantation, and returned to England. These colonists had to contend with many difficulties, among which were, a want of provisions, and a hostile disposition of the Indians, who formed a conspiracy to massacre the whole of the adventurers. In 1586, sir Francis Drake, who had been in the West Indies with a fleet, to prosecute hostilities against the Spaniards, arrived at the English settlement in Virginia; and after a conference with governor Lane, received the whole of the colonists on board, and carried them to England.

Still intent on planting a colony in Virginia, sir Walter Raleigh, the next year, sent out another company of one hundred and fifty adventurers, in three ships, under governor White, with orders to establish a plantation and fortify a post at Chesapeake Bay. Arriving at Hatteras, June twenty-second, governor White and forty of his men, proceeded in a pinnace to Roanoke, and landed with expectation of finding the fifteen men left by Grenville; but none were to be seen, excepting the bones of one who had been slain by the Indians. The fort built by Lane, was razed,

\* Among these was Stephen Parmenius, of Buda, in Hungary. He was a learned man, and wrote the Latin with great elegance. A Poem in that language, written by him, a short time before the voyage, is inserted in the 9th Vol. Mass. Hist. Col.

the houses standing, but overgrown with weeds and vines, indicating that they they had been sometime deserted. The remainder of the people were soon landed from the ships, to the number of 117 persons, and they took possession of the deserted houses and erected others. It was afterwards ascertained, that the fifteen men left at the place, had been attacked by the Indians, some slain, while others embarking in their boat, landed on a small island near Hatteras, whence they afterwards departed, and were heard of no more.

The people under governor White, prosecuted the business of the plantation without interruption from the natives. On the eighteenth of August, Mrs. Dare, a daughter of the governor, was delivered of a female child, who was baptised by the name of Virginia, the first English child born in the country.

Supplies being now wanted, the governor, at the urgent solicitations of the people, sailed for England to obtain them. In the course of the next year, he procured two small vessels, and sailed from England with fifteen planters, and supplies of provisions for the Virginia colony; but meeting with two French men of war, by whom he was rifled, he put back to England. Raleigh having then expended a large sum of money, in his abortive attempts to colonize Virginia, made an assignment of his patent to Thomas Smith, and other merchants, and gave up further attempts.

In 1590, governor White sailed for Virginia with three ships, and arrived in the Chesapeake, the fifteenth of August. After various incidents, he landed at the place where he had left his colony, and found that the houses had been taken down, and the place strongly fortified with palisades; but the people were not to be found. From the word CROATOAN, which was found carved on a tree, it was concluded they had removed to that place, to which White resolved to proceed. But tempestuous weather coming on, and his provisions being nearly expended, he sailed to the West Indies, and thence returned to England, leaving the unfortunate colony to their fate; and whether the people were slain by the natives, or perished from a want of provisions, is a problem which remains to be solved, as they have not since been found.

No further attempts were made to colonize Virginia for several years; but efforts were continued by the English and French, in the northerly part of the continent. In 1600, M. de Chauvin, having obtained a commission from Henry IV. of France, sailed up the river St. Lawrence ninety leagues, to a place called Tadoussac, near the mouth of the Saguenia river, below what is now Quebec, where he left some of his people, who suffered severely the following winter, and were saved from starvation by provisions procured of the natives. The next year Chaurin sailed up the river to Tadoussac and Trois Rivières.

The spirit of colonization now began to revive in England. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth with thirty two men, for the northern part of Virginia—the name by which North America was then known by the English—with a design of beginning a plantation; and after a voyage of seven weeks, he discovered the American coast in the latitude of 42°, which he named *Cape Cod*. Coasting southerly, he saw Martha's Vinyard, and anchored in the northwest part of the Island; soon after he discovered Buzzard's bay, and several capes and Islands,

one of which he called Elizabeth Island, on which he resolved to make a settlement. A small rocky islet, situated in the centre of a pond about two miles in circumference, was selected for the site of a fort and store house, and the buildings were soon completed. But discontent arising among the people who were to remain at the place, Gosnold relinquished his design, and the whole company returned to England. So late as 1797, the cellar of Gosnold's store-house was to be seen.\*

Another voyage was undertaken by several merchants of Bristol, in 1603. Two small vessels under the command of Martin Pring, carrying forty six men and boys, sailed from Milford haven, April the tenth, and arriving on the coast of North America, fell in with several Islands in Penobscot bay, in the beginning of June. Steering to the southward, they entered the bay of Massachusetts, and landed at a point called Savage rock; continuing the voyage, they discovered Vineyard sound, and cast anchor in an excellent harbor, which they named Whiston bay, now called Edgarton. Here Pring built a hut and enclosed it with a barricade, in which a guard was kept, while the remaining people were collecting sassafras—the chief object of the voyage. After a stay of almost eleven weeks, in which time the ships were visited by the natives, who appeared amicable, they returned to England with cargoes of sassafras.

The same year Samuel Champlain, a French officer sailed up the St. Lawrence—touched at Tadaussac, the place where Chauvin had left people in 1600, and continuing up the river, anchored at what is now Quebec, which from its elevation and peninsular form, he found an eligible position for a fortification. He afterwards ascended the river to Hochelaga, and obtained much information from the Indians of the neighboring country concerning the southern lakes and Iroquois, a warlike people situated to the southwest; he then returned to France.

The French at this time, appear to have been determined on making permanent settlements on various parts of the coast of North America. This year, 1603, Henry fourth "granted to Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Ments, a patent of the American territory, from the fortieth, to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, constituting him lieutenant general of that portion of the country, with power to colonize and rule it, and to subdue and christianize its native inhabitants." Soon after, the exclusive right of the trade in peltry in Canada, and the gulph of St Lawrence, was given to de Ments.

Clothed with this authority, de Ments in 1604, with Champlain for his pilot, and M. Poutrincourt, with a number of volunteers, in two ships, embarked for America, and arrived on the coast of Nova Scotia, then called Acadie. Coasting south west, and touching at several harbours, de Ments doubled Cape Sable, and entered the bay of Fundy, which he named *La Baye Francoise*; and soon after, discovered a narrow strait, leading into a spacious bason, environed by hills and skirted by fertile meadows, which he called Port Royal, since named Annapolis. Here Poutrincourt, having received a grant from de Ments, remained and commenced a settlement. Champlain was dispatched to make further discoveries on the coast of Acadie, and on his voyage, saw the mouth of St. John's river; and coasting southwest, twenty leagues, arrived at

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. i. p. 144.

an Island in the middle of a large river, where he was afterwards joined by de Ments. Resolving to winter on the Island, they built huts and a fort, near the upper end of the Island, and named the river *St. Croix*, which by the Indians was called *Schoodick*. During their stay on the Island, the adventurers often landed on the adjacent shores to traffic with the Indians in furs, and to procure fresh water. In one of these excursions, some misunderstanding with the Indians produced hostilities and a skirmish ensued, in which several of the French were killed. They were now compelled to sink a well on the Island, as their only resource; but the water proving bad, many sickened and died. Early in the spring, de Ments and Champlain abandoned the Island, and returned to Port Royal, leaving their fort and buildings standing.

The river Schoodic, or St. Croix, is the present boundary between the United States and the British province of New Brunswick, as settled by commissioners from both nations, in 1798. For sometime subsequent to the treaty of 1783, it was a question between the two governments, whether this, or the Magaguadavich, a river further east, was the true St. Croix mentioned in the treaty. The commissioners, who met at St. Andrews at the mouth of the river, to settle the question—one of whom was president Webber, of Harvard College, were furnished with an account of de Ments' voyage, in which was found a description of the Island on which he and Champlain wintered, with a particular notice of the neighboring country. This description was found to correspond very accurately with the appearance of an Island, about two miles above St. Andrews; and the commissioners were induced to land on it for the purpose of making a critical examination. On digging away the earth at the upper end, they discovered axes and other iron implements and the foundation of de Ments' fort, then overgrown with large trees. This evidence, with the description of the neighboring bays—course and source of the river, and other corresponding circumstances, coinciding so exactly with appearances, satisfied the commissioners, beyond a doubt, that the Island was the same described in de Ments' voyage; and that the Schoodic was the true St. Croix, first discovered by Champlain, in 1604. The Indians now residing on the right bank of the river, not far from the Island, still retain a traditional account of the incident relating to the French adventurers, while they occupied the Island. Francis Joseph, their very intelligent chief, stated to — Brown, Esq. of St. Andrews, but a few years since, many particulars related in de Ments' voyage; and added, that "the water of the well on the Island, was poison, and killed the French people."\*

On his return to Port Royal, de Ments built houses at the mouth of the river L'Equille, and after his sick people had recovered, sailed to the westward, along the American coast, by Penobscot, Kennebeck, Casco, Saco, and reached Cape Cod; thence he returned to Port Royal, where he found M. Dupont, with a ship from France, on board of which were supplies and a reinforcement of forty men. Leaving the place in September, 1605, under Champlain and Dupont, to continue the settlements, he sailed on further discoveries, and at length returned to France.

This year an English ship, under George Weymouth, ranged the Ameri-

\* Mr. Brown's relation to the author at St. Andrews in 1805.

can coast from about latitude forty one, to Penobscot, and sailed up the river about forty miles, trafficking with the natives. On his return, he carried five of the Indians to England.

The various attempts of the English to plant colonies in the north part of America, previous to this time, with the exception of that at Newfoundland, had proved abortive; and this seems to have been, but a motly mixture of fishermen, who flocked there for the purpose of enriching themselves, on the bounties of the neighboring seas, rather than on the lands. But the period was now approaching when efforts were to be made with better success. In 1606, king James, viewing the grant made to sir Water Raleigh as void, by patent, dated April tenth, divided that portion of country, stretching from the 34th to the 45th degree of north latitude, into two districts—the southern, called the *first colony*, was granted to the London company—the northern, called the *second colony*, to the Plymouth company. Both were authorised to settle any part of their respective grants, as they might choose; and they were vested with the right of property in the lands, comprehended within given limits.

The same year Henry Challons, with a ship of fifty tons, was sent by the Plymouth company to make further discoveries in North America, and to essay a settlement. Soon after, Thomas Hanam sailed with another ship, for the same country, and for similar purposes; but neither succeeded in planting a settlement.

In 1607, three ships from England, under the command of Christopher Newport, arrived in Chesapeake bay, and took possession of a peninsula on the north side of Powhatan river, since called James river, about forty miles from its mouth, and planted *Jamestown*—the first permanent habitation in North America. The emigrants accompanying Newport, amounted to one hundred, several of whom were named to be of the council, and authorized to choose from among themselves, a president for one year, who, with the council were to govern the colony; Edward Wingfield was accordingly elected president.

The Indians in the neighboring country, were numerous, and at first, evinced a disposition to be at peace with the English; but this disposition was of short continuance, and hostilities on their part became frequent. The adventurers suffered much, but by resolution and perseverance, they surmounted all difficulties, and established their settlement.

This year, 1607, another attempt was made by the English, to settle a plantation in North Virginia. Two ships were sent out by sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, and others, under George Popham, and Ralph Gilbert, with one hundred landmen. Sailing from Plymouth in May, they fell in with the island of Monahagan, in August, and soon after landed on an island, since called Parker's island at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kennebec river, where they built a store house and a fortification they named fort George. In December, the ships sailed for England, leaving a colony of forty persons under Popham, as president, and Gilbert as admiral. The succeeding winter proved extremely cold, their store house was accidentally destroyed by fire, their president died, and the settlers suffered severely. Early next spring, lord chief justice Popham fitted out two ships with supplies for the colony; but being sometime detained by contrary wind, his lordship's death was announced before

they could put to sea; the ships however sailed, and arrived at Sagadahock. In consequence of the loss of their principal patrons, and their other sufferings during the winter, the adventurers were discouraged, and the whole returned to England in 1608, under the impression that the country was too cold to admit of English inhabitants.

This abandonment of the country, induced the French to believe that the English would not again attempt a settlement on the coast; and they soon extended their plantations westerly into various places claimed by the English. In 1808, de Ments fitted out three ships under Champlain, to make new settlements in Acadie, and on the river St. Lawrence in Canada. Having examined several places, Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence, and selected a spot at the mouth of the little river St. Charles, where he erected barracks—cleared the ground, and began cultivation, and adopted for the place, the Indian name *Quebec*. Here he spent the winter with his people, and suffered much from the severity of the climate. The next summer, he explored the river Sorrel—discovered lakes Champlain, and *St. Sacrament*, now called lake George;—had a skirmish with the Iroquois Indians, and took many scalps; in the fall of the year he returned to France.

No attempts had been made by the Dutch, to colonize new countries in the west, prior to this period. Stimulated, however, by the enterprises of the other maritime nations, they now determined to acquire a title to the new countries, by right of discovery. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in their service, sailed from the Texel, with a design of penetrating to the East Indies, by stretching to the west. Meeting with the continent of America, he ranged along the coast, as far southerly as Chesapeake bay; returning to the northward, he entered the bay between Long Island and the main land—discovered, and sailed up a large river, called by the natives, Manhattan, to which he gave his own name, nearly to the present city of Albany, and after trafficking with the natives, and examining the shores of the river, returned to England.\* The next year the Dutch sent ships to the same river to open a trade with the natives of the country, and gave it the name of New Netherlands. Four years after a patent was granted to sundry merchants, for an exclusive trade on the Hudson by the states general, and a fort was built on the west side of the river, near Albany.

The French settlers in Acadie, though within the limits claimed by the English, had been permitted to enjoy the land they occupied, without interruption, and they flattered themselves that they had acquired a possession which would not be disputed. In 1613, Madame de Guercheville, a pious French lady, zealous for the conversion of the natives, having obtained from de Ments, a surrender of his patent, and a charter of Nova Scotia, from the king of France, sent out a ship, conveying two Jesuits, as missionaries. Saussaye, who commanded the expedition, after touching at Port Royal, and some other places, proceeded to Mount Desert, where the two Jesuits fixed their settlement, which they called *St. Saviour*, and set up the cross. About this time captain Samuel Argal of Virginia, arrived off the island, for the purpose of fishing. Learning that the French had a settlement on the island, he immediately attacked

\* Smith places the discovery in 1608.—*Hist. New York*.

it; the French made little resistance, one of the Jesuits was killed and most of the other people taken and carried to Virginia. The governor of that colony, now determined to sweep the French from the lands in Acadie, within the English limits. Three vessels, carrying fourteen guns and sixty soldiers, were put under the command of captain Argal, with orders to raze all the French posts and settlements, to the 46th degree of north latitude. Argal accordingly sailed, and arriving at Mount Desert, broke down the cross erected by the Jesuits, and took possession of St. Saviour, in the name of the king of England. He then proceeded to St. Croix, and having broken up several other plantations, sailed for the Dutch settlement, at Hudson's river, and compelled the governor to submit himself and colony to the English nation. Having without much resistance effected the principal objects of his expedition, Argal returned to Virginia.

In 1614, a new governor arrived from Holland, with a reinforcement of men—built a fort at Manhattan, where the city of New York is now situated, and asserted the right of the Dutch to the country; from which time it was held by them many years without interruption.

The same year, several gentlemen in England fitted out two vessels, with forty five men and boys, for North Virginia, under Capt. John Smith, who had been noted for his extraordinary exploits in the southern colony, and other parts of the world. Smith arrived at the island of Monahagon about the last of April; built seven boats, in one of which, he, with eight men, surveyed the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, traded largely with the natives in beaver and other furs, and returned to England richly laden. From his survey, he delineated a map of the coast, and presented it to the king, who gave the country the name of New England.

When Smith sailed from New England, he left one of his ships to complete her lading, under Thomas Hunt, who committed a most perfidious act, long remembered by the natives; and which rendered them hostile to future adventurers. Under pretence of trade, Hunt enticed twenty four of them on board his ship, confined them under hatches, and carried them to Malaga, where he sold them to the Spaniards for slaves. One of these was Squanto, who afterwards got to England and thence returned to his native country, and notwithstanding his cruel treatment, afforded much aid to the future settlers of Plymouth.

Not long after this perfidious transaction, an English ship under Capt. Hobson, arrived at the isle of Capawick, one of the Elizabeth cluster, on the coast of New England, for the purpose of establishing a plantation, and opening a trade with the natives. Two of Hunt's kidnapped Indians accompanied Hobson to the coast, one of whom soon after died on board the ship, the other, named Epenow, indignant at the conduct of Hunt, resolved to revenge himself on the English. Some of his old friends visited Epenow, who was detained on board, and contrived with him, a plan for his liberation. Twenty canoes, at the appointed time, approached the ship under pretext of trading; when they were sufficiently near Epenow leaped overboard, and instantly a shower of arrows poured from the canoes into the ship; the Indians then pushed on, and, in spite of Hobson's musketry, drew Epenow from the water, and carried him safe to shore. Several of the Indians were killed; the master



of the vessel and some others were wounded. Finding the Indians thus hostile, Hobson soon after sailed for England.

Several other attempts were soon after made to open a trade with the natives, and to occupy stations on the coast of New England; but owing to their hostility, they all proved abortive. Ships however, still resorted to the coast, for the purpose of taking fish, and in this business they were generally very successful. At Newfoundland, prior to 1615, several thousand people from England, France and Portugal, had established themselves, and a regular government had been formed in 1610, under a patent granted to the earl of Northampton and forty associates, extending from 46 to 52 degrees north latitude. John Guy soon after sailed from England with thirty nine persons, and began a settlement for the proprietors at Conception bay. From this period the colony increased, and was the grand rendezvous of numerous vessels, which resorted to the coast for fishing.

In 1619, Thomas Dermer arrived on the coast of New England, loaded a ship with furs and fish at Monahgan and dispatched it for Europe. Proceeding afterwards in a small bark to the southward, he first discovered the sound between Long Island and the coast of Connecticut, and the dangerous passage since called *Hell-gate*. Speaking of this passage he says, "We found a most dangerous *catwract* amongst small rockie Ilans, occasioned by two unequal tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other." Probably the "catwract" and sound were previously known to the Dutch at Manhattan. Dermer the next year visited Martha's Vineyard, where he was suddenly attacked by Epewow, at the head of a party of Indians, and received fourteen wounds; soon after he sailed to Virginia, where he died. While on the coast Dermer redeemed from the Indians, two Frenchmen, the remainder of a crew, cast away on cape Cod in 1616—the others had been put to death.

The country to the southward, bordering on New Netherlands, had been visited by a Swedish merchant, who gave it a favorable representation. A number of gentlemen of that nation, with several Finns, through the recommendation of the king of Sweden associated for the settlement of a colony in that part of the country. In 1627, a company of these people landed at cape Henlopen, and sometime after, bought of the natives, the lands extending from that cape, to the falls of Delaware, of which they took peaceable possession. In 1630, they built a fort at Hoarkill within the capes; but this was burnt down in 1645. From this time they claimed the country until they were extirpated by the Dutch in 1655.

In 1681, Pennsylvania was granted by Charles II. to William Penn, who commenced settlements the same year, and the next year the foundation of Philadelphia was laid.

Besides the voyages that have been mentioned, several others were made to North America by the maritime nations of Europe; but as they were generally for the purpose of discovery in the regions about Hudson's bay, or for private emolument, unconnected with the settlement of New England, they are omitted; that of the Pilgrims from England in 1620, will be given in connection with the first permanent settlement at Plymouth.

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES:  
COMPRISING A HISTORY OF THE  
**INDIAN WARS,**  
ON CONNECTICUT RIVER, &c.

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CHAPTER I.

The settlements made by various European nations in Canada, Newfoundland, New Netherlands and Virginia, previous to the year 1620, attracted considerable notice in Europe, but New England still remained in possession of the natives, whose hostility, in consequence of the abuses they had received from the English ships that had visited the coast, rendered it dangerous to land on the territory. But the period had now arrived in which a permanent settlement was to be effected, and the country no longer to be known as a savage wild.

Religious persecution in England, had for some time been preparing the minds of a small company of people to encounter every hardship and danger, that they might enjoy religious freedom in some distant land. These were a congregation of English Puritans residing in Holland. The sect bearing this name, arose in England about the year 1550, on occasion of bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the popish habits. The archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops and divines, having concluded an order of divine worship, an act confirming this liturgy passed both houses of Parliament, on the fifteenth of January 1649. But it was protested against by the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster and Chichester; the Parliament notwithstanding, persisted in enforcing the liturgy, and an act was passed subjecting such clergy as should refuse the service, or should officiate in any other manner, to forfeitures and imprisonment; and for the third offence to imprisonment for life. Who-

ever should write, or print against the book, was to be fined ten pounds for the first offence, twenty pounds for the second, and be imprisoned for life for the third. The council immediately appointed visitors to see that the liturgy was received throughout England. In January, 1563, the convocation of the English clergy met, and finished the *thirty nine articles*. Of the lower house, forty three present, were for throwing out the ceremonies; but thirty five were for retaining them; and these, with the help of proxies, carried their measure by one vote. The bishops now zealously urged the clergy to subscribe to the liturgy and ceremonies, as well as the articles of the established church; and all who refused were branded with the name of *Puritans*, from their rejecting what they deemed unscriptural ceremonies, and confining their churches entirely to scriptural rules, and apostolical purity, worship and doctrine.\*

A most cruel persecution followed, and so violent was the zeal for uniformity, that popular preachers of this sect, though men of learning and purity, were suspended, deprived, imprisoned and ruined, for not using garments, or ceremonies, which even their adversaries acknowledged to be indifferent. Puritanism nevertheless, gained ground, not only among the lower sort of people, but also in the universities; and the established churches began to be neglected by many, and meetings for worship were held at other places, without adherence to the established forms.

To put a stop to these *irregularities*, an act was passed in 1593, for punishing all who refused to come to church, or were present at any conventicle, or unauthorised meeting. The punishment was imprisonment until the convicted agreed to conform, and made a declaration of his conformity; and if that was not done in three months, he was to quit the realm, or go into perpetual banishment. In case he did not depart within the time limited, or returned without license, he was to suffer death. Several underwent this punishment, in preference to purchasing an exemption from legal penalties, by doing what, in their opinion, was wrong. In April, 1693, Henry Barrow

\* Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. i.—Prince's New England Chronology—Holmes' American Annals, Vol. i. p. 95.

and John Greenwood were put to death, for publishing certain books against the hierarchy ; and in May the same year, John Penry suffered the same fate, for having in his possession a manuscript against the hierarchy and persecution.\*

Finding these sanguinary proceedings to fail of their intended effect, it was resolved to punish all who were guilty, by banishment only ; to avoid these evils, many voluntarily exiled themselves from their native country.

Nor were punishments confined wholly to nonconformity. In 1607, Nicholas Fullur, an eminent lawyer, for merely pleading in defence of some puritan clients, against the power of the ecclesiastical commissioners, was committed to prison, and there detained till he died ; and the Rev. Mr. Fairfull, minister of Dumferling, in Scotland, was imprisoned, during the king's pleasure, only for praying for the distressed ministers.

The zeal of the puritans was not to be put down by such arbitrary and horrid proceedings. A number upon the borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, having suffered severely, under the rigorous persecution of the hierarchy, resolved " to shake off the antichristian bondage, and as the Lord's people, join themselves by covenant, into a church state, to walk in all the ways of God, made known to them, according to their best endeavours, whatever it might cost them."† These people, formed themselves into two societies, one chose for its pastor, the Rev. John Robinson, under whom they continued about a year ; but being extremely harrassed by persecution, resolved to emigrate to Holland ; which after much difficulty and danger, they effected in 1607, and 1608, and took up their residence in Amsterdam. The next year, Mr. Robinson, and his church, removed to Leyden, where they continued several years. But although they enjoyed liberty of conscience, and freedom from ecclesiastical oppression, they were not fully satisfied with the morals and customs of the Dutch, and they began to look for some situation more congenial to their minds. Besides, they were ardently desirous of spreading christianity in remote regions of the earth, and of

\* Prince's Chronology.

† Gov. Bradford's History, quoted in Prince's Chronology.

handing down to posterity, what they deemed, the undulterated worship of Jehovah.

The accounts which had been communicated of America, by the various voyagers, turned their attention to that region; and they at length resolved, if possible, to emigrate to the new world. Agents were accordingly sent to the Virginia company in England, to procure a patent of lands, sufficient for their wants, which, after much delay, was obtained, under the seal of the company. They also applied to king James, to grant them liberty of conscience, provided they should remove to America, and settle a plantation; but this was granted no further than, that he would connive at their religious practices, and not molest them, provided they should conduct peaceably.

The difficulties being thus surmounted, they determined that but a part of the congregation should proceed to America, and there make preparation for the remainder. By the sale of their property, and the aid of a Mr. Weston, an English merchant, money was raised and placed in a common stock, which enabled them to purchase of the Dutch, the *Speedwell* a vessel of sixty tons, and to hire in England, another called the *May-flower*, of 180 tons, for the voyage. Thus prepared, the adventurers left Delf-Haven, about the twenty-first of July, and arrived at Southampton in England, and on the fifth of August, they sailed for America; but the *Speedwell* proving leaky, they were compelled to put into Dartmouth to repair. They again put to sea, and were again compelled to return to port, the same ship proving leaky. Despairing of the crazy vessel, and putting their provisions and necessaries on board the *May-flower*, they sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of September. The voyage proving boisterous, the ship was in danger of foundering; a beam started, which, with much difficulty, and the aid of an iron screw, belonging to one of the company, was replaced, and the ship rode out the storm. At day break on the ninth of November, the adventurers were cheered with the sight of land, which proved to be Cape Cod; and finding themselves to the northward of their place of destination, they stood to the southward, intending to land near the mouth of the Hudson, in New Netherlands; but soon falling among shoals, with their feeble

ship, the master, (Jones,) availing himself of their fears, shifted his course to the northward, with the design of landing the company at some place distant from the Hudson, as he had clandestinely promised the Dutch before he left Holland; for which he was to receive a reward. The next day proving stormy, the ship dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbor, in latitude forty two degrees north, and therefore without the limits of the Virginia company, of whom the adventurers had obtained their patent; this circumstance added to their embarrassments.

Before the people were allowed to land, they formed themselves into a body politic, by a solemn covenant, as the basis of their government, in the following words:

“In the name of God, Amen: We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith.

Having undertaken, for the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of the King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just laws, ordinances, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience: In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty fourth. Anno Domini, 1620.”

The instrument was signed by the following persons,

JOHN CARVER  
WILLIAM BRADFORD  
EDWARD WINSLOW  
WILLIAM BREWSTER  
ISAAC ALLERTON  
MILES STANDISH  
JOHN ALDEN  
SAMUEL FULLER

JAMES CHILTON  
JOHN CRACKSTON  
JOHN BILLINGTON  
MOSES FLETCHER  
JOHN GOODMAN  
DEGORY PRIEST  
THOMAS WILLIAMS  
GILBERT WINSLOW

CHRISTOPHER MARTIN	EDMUND MARGESON
WILLIAM MULLINS	PETER BROWN
WILLIAM WHITE	RICHARD BRITERIGE
RICHARD WARREN	GEORGE SOULE
JOHN HOWLAND	RICHARD CLARKE
STEPHEN HOPKINS	RICHARD GARDINER
EDWARD TILLY	JOHN ALLERTON
JOHN TILLY	THOMAS ENGLISH
FRANCIS COOK	EDWARD DOTEY
THOMAS ROGERS	EDWARD LEISTER
THOMAS TINKER	JOHN RIDGDALE
EDWARD FULLER	JOHN TURNER
and FRANCIS EATON.	

Most of the subscribers were accompanied by their wives, and the whole, or part of their children; the total number at the time they landed, was one hundred and one persons: one died and another was born on the passage.

Having formed themselves into a body politic, by signing the foregoing instrument, they unanimously elected John Carver for their governor, to serve one year; and after this important business was completed, sixteen men, well armed, were sent on shore to procure firewood—examine the land, and to make discoveries; but none of the natives were seen. The next day, being Sunday, business was suspended, and on Monday the thirteenth, the company disembarked, and parties were sent on discovery. On Wednesday the fifteenth, Miles Standish, with an armed party, searching for a place for a settlement, saw five or six natives; but they appeared to be alarmed, and fled. Standish and his party pursued them several miles, and at night took up their lodgings in the woods. The next day they discovered a quantity of corn buried in the sand, which they brought off, with a large kettle, found in the ruins of an Indian hut. The country was found to consist of numerous sand hills, promising little success from cultivation; but the waters teemed with fish of various kinds; the majestic whale, unaccustomed to the harpoon, ploughed the peaceful bay, and played about the ship, while innumerable sea fowl, unconscious of danger skimmed the surface of the deep.

Before the close of November, the wife of William White was delivered of a son, who was named *Peregrine*, probably the first child of European extraction, born in New England.

A shallop having been fitted up, on the sixth of December, Miles Standish, with a party, sailed for the purpose of exploring the bay, and finding a place for a settlement. The next day part of the men landed, and traversed the shore, while the remainder continued along the coast in the shallop; and the next day the party on land, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, and received a sudden flight of arrows; a discharge of musketry from the English, instantly drove them from their cover, and they soon disappeared. Continuing the voyage round the bay they at length landed on an island, near the west coast, where they kept Sabbath. On Monday the eleventh of December they sounded a harbour, and found sufficient depth of water for the ship—went on shore, and exploring the land, saw cornfields and brooks of pure water, and the place was deemed convenient for a plantation. They then returned to the ship at Cape Cod, and communicated their discovery.

On the fifteenth, the whole company sailed for the new harbor; but meeting with a strong northwest wind, they were driven back to the cape; the next day the wind shifting, they came to anchor in the harbor, and on the eighteenth, a party landed, with the master of the ship—traversed the shore seven or eight miles, and returned on board at night. Another party landed next day, and the shallop, with a few people, coasted the shore, and entered a creek. In these excursions cultivated grounds were seen—but neither Indians nor their huts; the country appeared to have been deserted by its former inhabitants.

Pleased with the situation of the place, on the twentieth, after calling on Heaven for guidance, part of the company landed and selected a site for a village, on a high ground, facing the bay, where Indian corn had been cultivated; the summit of the hill afforded a fine view of the bay, with Cape Cod skirting the horizon in the east and the surrounding country presented a pleasing aspect. The next day being boisterous and rainy, the party remained on shore, and being destitute of shelter, were drenched with rain, and the next day Richard Briterige died.

The twenty third, most of the company went on shore,



and were employed in felling timber, for the erection of a common storehouse, which was raised on the twenty fifth, and a small fort was commenced on the summit of the hill, on which the burying ground in Plymouth is now situated. The thirty first being Sunday, most of the people remained on board the ship, while others kept the day in the new building.

The people having divided into nineteen families, proceeded to the building of their village. This was laid out in two parallel lines, each family had its proportion of land set out for houses and gardens, and the rude buildings were erected with expedition. In grateful remembrance of the Christian friends they had parted with in Plymouth, in England, they gave their town that name, which it still retains. About the middle of January the storehouse unfortunately took fire in its thatched roof, and was consumed.

Though the adventurers had occasionally seen a few of the natives in the neighboring woods, discovered their distant fires, and been alarmed at their shouts, they had not been able to obtain an interview ; and to prevent a surprise, guards were constantly kept on the alert. The rank of captain had been conferred on Miles Standish, and he was intrusted with the military command of the colony.

On the 16th of March, the English received a visit from one of the natives, who came boldly into Plymouth, calling out *welcome Englishmen!* His name was Samoset, a Sagamore, who had learned a little English from the fishing vessels that had been on the coast. He informed the adventurers that the place they occupied, was called by the Indians, *Patuxet*, and that all the people formerly inhabiting the place, died of an extraordinary sickness about four years since. Samoset was treated with great hospitality, and soon after made several other visits, in one of which he was accompanied by *Squanto*, one of the Indians, kidnapped by Hunt, as has been related. This native had escaped from Spain, got to England, where he learned to speak English, and afterwards returned to his native country, with captain Dermer in 1619. These Indians informed the adventurers, that *Masassoit*, the great chief of the neighboring Indians was approaching with a number of his people ;

and in the course of an hour he was in sight, with sixty attendants, on the summit of a hill opposite to the town.

Whether the designs of the chief were hostile or pacific was for some time doubtful ; Squanto was dispatched to ascertain his intentions, and on return he informed that the chief was desirous of holding a parley, and proposed that the English should send one of their people to him. Mr. Winslow was immediately dispatched with some *hau*: some presents and a pot of *strong water* to the chief, who gladly received them ; and on being informed that the English were desirous of opening a trade, and of entering into a treaty of friendship with him ; the chief directed his brother to take Mr. Winslow into custody, and with twenty unarmed Indians, he passed on towards the town. Capt. Standish, with another gentleman and six armed men, met him at a brook, and conducted him to the village, where governor Carver, attended by a drum and trumpet, and a few men, received him. After an exchange of salutations, refreshments were placed before the chief, of which he and his people freely partook. A league of friendship was then agreed on, by which he promised perpetual peace, and to aid the English, should they be attacked by any of the neighboring Indians.\* The governor then conducted him over the brook, and Mr. Winslow having been released, the Indians departed well pleased with their interview.

By the treaty agreed on, the English were in some measure relieved of their alarms from an attack of the natives—yet deprived of many of the necessities of life, they experienced great sufferings. During the year 1621, a mortal sickness prevailed, and swept off more than half their number ; Mr. Carver who had been re-appointed governor for the second year, also died, but not of the prevailing disease ; and William Bradford was elected to fill his place.

Early in the spring, Capt. Jones, who brought out the colony, returned with his ship to England, and communicated the state of the adventurers at Plymouth ; on which their friends in London dispatched a vessel under Capt. Cushman, which arrived at the settlement in No-

\* This league was faithfully observed by Masassoit for more than fifty years, and his people were generally faithful to the English.

vember, with thirty four persons destined to remain in the colony. By this ship, a charter procured by some of the company in London, was received by the settlers. Soon after the departure of the first company from England in 1620, a new patent was granted by king James to the duke of Lenox and several associates, and their successors—styling them “The Council established at Plymouth, (England) in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England in America.” By this patent, that part of the American territory which lies between the fortieth and forty eighth degree of north latitude “*in breadth and in length, by all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main land, from sea to sea*” was given them in absolute property;—the same authority and privileges, which had previously been given to the treasurer and company of Virginia, were now conferred on them, and they were equally empowered to exclude all from trading within the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and from fishing in the neighboring seas. The patent was the only civil basis of all the subsequent patents and plantations, which divided this country.\*

The first patent of Plymouth had been taken out in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the company of adventurers, but when he saw the promising state of the settlement, without their knowledge, but in their name, he procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit, and hold the adventurers as his tenants. In pursuance of his design, he made several abortive attempts to send a ship to New England. After severe losses Pierce gave up his project, and assigned his patent to the agents of the adventurers, for five hundred pounds.†

The title of the lands at Plymouth being now secured, the establishment began to flourish, and in the second year, twenty acres of Indian corn were raised, and a considerable quantity of peas and barley. Unaccustomed to the cultivation of the corn, much aid was received from Squanto, who instructed the people in the manner of planting, cultivating and gathering the crop. This In-

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. i. p. 204.

† Ibid. Vol. i. p. 227.

dian also rendered important services to the English in various other employments, and was a warm and faithful friend, notwithstanding the insidious treatment he had received from their countryman Hunt. Contrary to the vindictive habits of the Indians, he seems to have been disposed to render good for evil—a rare instance in a savage.

Though the natives had thus far proved friendly, and the disposition of the greater part promised a continuance of harmony, the dawning of savage jealousy began at length to appear. One of the petty chiefs of the neighborhood attempted to alienate the affections of the subjects of Masassoit from the chief, and an attempt was made on the life of Squanto and another friendly Indian. To crush these machinations, captain Standish and fourteen men were dispatched to Namasket, since Middleborough, where the mischief had originated; Corbittant, the disaffected chief, and his followers, fled out of danger. This prompt application of military force struck such a terror into the neighboring Indians, that nine sachems came to Plymouth, and voluntarily subscribed submission to king James, promising to be his loyal subjects. Other sachems under the influence of Masassoit made similar submissions, and the English flattered themselves they should continue at peace with the natives.

At this time, a powerful nation of Indians residing about Narraganset bay, in the present state of Rhode Island, bordering on Masassoit's dominion, had heard of the settlement of the English at Plymouth, and began to exhibit a hostile disposition towards them; and learning that disease had swept off considerable numbers, they deemed it a favorable time to extirpate the remainder. Apprised of their danger, the English, early in 1622, prepared for their defence, by erecting palisades about their settlement, including the fort upon the hill, and added several flankers to the work; and the gates were kept closely locked at night, and the place carefully guarded.

The Narragansets still kept up their hostile menaces, and Canonicus, their chief, sent the English a bundle of arrows enclosed in a snake skin, which they were informed by Squanto, was a direct challenge to fight. The gov-

error, taking the advice of his leading men, acted with firmness; he returned the skin filled with powder and ball, as a defiance. Whether the Narragansets were intimidated by the firmness of the English, or by the powerful alliance they had formed with the tribes in the neighborhood is uncertain, but the threatened attack was given up, and the English settlements remained without further interruption from the Narragansets.

In the spring of this year, two ships arrived at Plymouth, with a company of emigrants, sent out by Thomas Weston, a London merchant, who had aided the Plymouth adventurers, at the time they left Holland. The company was to settle a plantation on Massachusetts bay, for which Weston had obtained a patent. Many of the people being sick on their arrival, they continued at Plymouth through the summer. The others after examining the neighboring country, selected a place for a plantation at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth, to which the whole at length removed. The company soon expended their provisions, and were reduced to great distress; and finding it impossible to procure corn of the Indians by purchase, to save life, some of the people took it by force, which so exasperated the Indians, that they threatened to cut off the whole plantation, unless satisfaction was made, by putting to death the guilty persons. To appease the wrath of the Indians, it is said, an old decrepit man was selected for a sacrifice, and actually executed.\* One person in his distress, attempting to gather clams from the flats, sunk into the mud, and

\* This vicarious execution, gave rise to the following sarcasm in Butler's Hudibras, Part II, Canto 2.

<p>" Our brethren of New England use Choice malefactors to excuse, And hang the guiltless in their stead Of whom the churches have less need; As lately happened. In a town There liv'd a cobbler, and but one, That out of doctrine could cut use, And mend men's lives as well as shoes. This precious brother having slain, In times of peace, an Indian, (Not out of malice, but mere zeal, Because he was an Infidel,) The mighty Tottipottymoy Sent to our elders an envoy;</p>	<p>Complaining sorely of the breach Of league held forth by brother patch, Against the articles in force Between both churches, his and ours, For which he crav'd the saints to render Into his hands or hang th' offender; But they maturely having weigh'd, They had no more but him o' th' trade (A man that serv'd them in a double Capacity, to teach and cobbler,) Resolv'd to spare him; yet to do The Indian Hoghgan, Moghgan too, Impartial justice, in his stead did Hang an old weaver that was bed rid."</p>
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Hubbard admits the theft; but says the person executed was one of the party who stole the corn from the Indians.—*History of New-England.*

from a want of strength to extricate himself, remained until he perished. The circumstances of the people being made known at Plymouth, and learning from Massasoit that the neighboring Indians had resolved to destroy the place, Capt. Standish was dispatched with a party for their relief, and to seize one of the Indian chiefs. Proceeding by water, Standish landed in Massachusetts bay, among the natives, who suspecting his designs, insulted him, and threatened his life; four of the Indians, two of whom were chiefs, having entered a hut with Standish, and a few of his men, he resolved to put them to death; at a signal, the door was suddenly closed, and with a knife wrested from one of the chiefs, Standish dispatched him, while his party promptly killed two others. Proceeding to another place, a skirmish ensued—one Indian was killed and others put to flight; and being joined by Weston's men, they killed two more of the savages. Standish then took the people on board, gave them provisions, and carried them to Plymouth. The Indians were so intimidated by this prompt punishment, that they fled into the woods and swamps, and made no further attempts to disturb the English for some time.

During the summer of 1622, the adventurers were so much distressed by a deficiency of food, that they were compelled to apply to the fishing vessels on the coast, and to the Indians for a supply. Voyages were made to the island of Monahagon for the same purpose, and a partial relief was obtained. The crops also promised some aid; sixty acres of corn had been planted, and the gardens began to be productive.

The success of the Plymouth colony stimulated other adventurers to try their fortunes in New England. In July, 1623, a ship arrived at Plymouth, with supplies of necessary articles from England, and vessels trading on the coast frequently put into the port. Another company, sent out this year, by sir Fernando Gorges, and captain John Mason, commenced a settlement at Little harbor, on the west side of Piscataqua river, within the present limits of New Hampshire; and several of the adventurers proceeded up the river and planted at Cocheco, now Dover.

The next year, a company arrived from England and began a settlement at Cape Ann, and erected a fishing stage; and the same year Wessagusset was reoccupied, and received an accession of people from Weymouth in England. In November, Naumkeag, now Salem, was explored by the people of Cape Ann.

Plymouth at this time contained thirty two dwelling houses, and about one hundred and eighty inhabitants; and such had been the health of the place, that none of the first planters had died for the three last years. Mr. Edward Winslow, who had been sent home on business for the colony, returned to Plymouth, and to the great joy of the people, brought with him a fine English bull and three heifers, the first neat stock that had been landed in New England. The same ship brought a supply of clothing and other necessary articles, with letters from Rev. John Robinson, stating the reasons for having delayed his passage to New England. One of the passengers in this ship, was Mr. John Lyfold, a minister of the Gospel, who had been induced by some of the Plymouth company in London, to embark for America. He was welcomed by the settlers, and at first admitted to the governor's council; suspicions however soon arose against his religious sentiments, as well as his moral character; and he lost the esteem of the people of Plymouth, and soon removed to Nantasket, where were a few settlers, and afterwards joined those at Cape Ann.

About this time, a plantation was begun at Mount Wollaston, now Quincy, near the present seat of the Hon. John Adams. The company was from England, consisting of a few persons of eminence, and about thirty servants. Capt. Wollaston, who was the principal character, soon left the place, and sailed with most of his servants, to Virginia.

The plantation at Plymouth continuing to flourish, ships were loaded with furs, and other articles of the country and sent to England; a trade about this time was opened with the Dutch at Manhattan, who sent articles of merchandize to Manomet,\* from which they were received by the English, by an overland rout, thereby

\* Manomet is a creek running through Sandwich, entering Buzzard's bay; the Indian town was situated on the creek, twenty miles south of Plymouth.

avoiding the dangerous passage around Cape Cod. In 1628, the English set up a trading house at Kennebec, where they had obtained a patent of lands, and a considerable trade was maintained with the natives.

Prior to this time the planters at Plymouth, received an account of the death of their much esteemed pastor, Mr. John Robinson, at Leyden, March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. His arrival at Plymouth had been expected for several years; but the difficulties attending the voyage, and the poverty of his congregation in Holland, are said to have prevented his removal.

Mr. Robinson was a man of no ordinary talents : his knowledge on many points, was far superior to that of most of the clergy of the dark age in which he lived, and extraordinary as it may appear, he seems to have justly appreciated the benefits which would result to religion from a liberal toleration. His charge to his people, on parting with them when they embarked for America, is a rare production for one of his profession in that age of bigotry and persecution, and evinced a highly enlightened mind.—“Brethren,” said he, “we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows ; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were any truth by my ministry ; for I am verily persuaded—I am confident—the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go, at present, no farther than the instruments of reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw ; whatever part of his will, God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God ; but were they



now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they at first received. I beseech you to remember it, as an article of your Church covenant, *that* you be ready to receive, whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember *that*, and every other article, of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine, consider and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

Had the wise counsels of this enlightened man been followed, persecution would not have been known among our early fathers, and their memories would have descended to posterity with fewer blemishes than we are compelled to acknowledge they were darkened.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE continued persecution of the non-conformists, in England, and the prosperous condition of the Plymouth adventurers, induced another company of Englishmen to seek an asylum for religious freedom in North America. On the thirteenth of March, 1628, "the council for New England sold to sir Henry Roswell, sir John Young, and four other associates, in the vicinity of Dorchester, a patent for all that part of New England lying between three miles to the northward of Merrimac river, and three miles to the southward of Charles river; and in length, within the described breadth, from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea." This patent was the foundation of the colony of Massachusetts. Unfortunately the limits were so indefinite, particularly on the north and south, that much perplexity was experienced in adjusting them in later times, and disputes continued for many years with the contiguous colonies.

Soon after obtaining their patent, the company chose a governor and deputy governor, with eighteen assistants, and sent out a number of people under the care of John

Endicott, who arrived at Naumkeag, which they named Salem.\* The place was then an uncultivated desert, and as it had been abandoned by the natives, the adventurers met with no interruption; but proving unhealthy, and several dying, part of the people by the consent of Endicott, removed and settled at a place called *Mishawum*, since Charlestown, where the natives were found to be numerous, and an English house had been built by Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, one of the early adventurers.

The company in England, in 1629, was incorporated by king Charles, by the name of "the Governor and company in the Massachusetts bay in New England, with power to elect forever, out of the freeman of said company, a Governor, deputy Governor and eighteen assistants, to be newly chosen on the last Wednesday in *easter term*, annually; and to make laws not repugnant to the laws of England."

At a meeting held in London, April thirtieth, a form of government was settled for the colony. Thirteen persons resident in the colonial settlement, to have the sole management of the colony. At the same meeting John Endicott was elected governor, and Francis Higginson, and six others to be the council, with power to choose three others; and such planters as should live within the limits of the plantation, were empowered to elect two more, to make the number of the council twelve, one of whom was, by the governor and council, or the major part of them, to be chosen deputy to the governor for the time being. These persons were to continue in office one year, or until the court of the company in London should appoint others; and the governor, or in his absence, the deputy governor, might call courts at discretion.

People of note were found ready to emigrate to New England, but they were not satisfied with the form of government that had been adopted, which authorized the enacting of laws for them in England without their consent. To obviate this difficulty, it was decreed by the

\* Dr. Cotton Mather, in the fertility of his imagination suggests that the Indian name of this place, which he calls *Nahumkeick*, was Hebrew: for, says he, *nahum* signifies comfort, and *keik* a haven, and our English not only found it a haven of comfort, but happened also to put a Hebrew name upon it; for they called it *Salem*, for the peace they had hoped in it.—*Magnalia Christ. Americana*.

company that the government and patent of the settlement should be transferred from London to Massachusetts. A new election of officers was held, and John Winthrop was chosen governor, and John Humfrey deputy governor, and sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, and others, were the assistants. All these gentlemen agreed to embark with their families for New England, for the purpose of settling a colony, and to be ready the ensuing March.

Before the embarkation of the officers of the government, three ships sailed from the Isle of Wight, and arrived at Naumkeag, in June, with about two hundred men, women and children, and a supply of necessary articles, and also a number of head of cattle, horses, sheep and goats. At this time the place contained but seven houses, and the first adventurers numbered but one hundred.

Soon after this accession of people at Naumkeag, about one hundred removed to Mishawum, where they were permitted to settle by governor Endicott. A town was laid out into two acre lots, one for each inhabitant, and named Charlestown; a Mr. Smith went to Plymouth, where he was settled in the ministry.

Early in the spring of 1630, a considerable fleet was prepared in England to carry out a colony to New England under governor Winthrop. By the fifth of July twelve of the ships had arrived in Massachusetts bay, with the governor, deputy governor, and several gentlemen of the council, and about fifteen hundred settlers, of various occupations, some of whom were from the west of England, but the greater part from the vicinity of London. One of the ships had arrived at Nantasket about the thirtieth of May preceding, whence Mr. Warham and several others landed, and putting their effects on board a boat, proceeded up the harbor to Charlestown, thence they ascended Charles river and landed at the place where Watertown is now built, where they found that a large body of Indians were in the vicinity, which put the party on the alert. The next morning several Indians were seen at no great distance, one holding up a fish, signifying his desire to trade with the English; a man was sent forward who received the fish in exchange

for a biscuit. After this introduction, a friendly intercourse continued, and an advantageous trade in fish was carried on sometime. The party remained a few days at the place, and then returned down the river and proceeded to *Matapan*, now *Dorchester*; here finding a neck of land convenient for enclosing the cattle they had brought from England, they fixed a settlement: this was the commencement of the town of *Dorchester*.

Governor Winthrop, with some of his principle men, having explored the bay, and viewed various points, landed at *Charlestown* and took quarters in the large house, which had been prepared the preceding year by the first adventurers; and the other people landed, erected cottages, booths and tents about the eminence, now called *Bunker's hill*. Unaccustomed to this mode of living, and oppressed by very hot weather, sickness prevailed, and proved mortal to many; this produced discouragement and a considerable number of people sailed for England in the returning ships; others left the place and went to the settlement at *Piscataqua*.

The adventurers at *Charlestown* now commenced the exploration of the adjacent country, for the purpose of finding eligible situations for plantations. *Watertown* was selected for one, and Mr. *Saltonstall* and Mr. *Phillips*, with a company of people removed to that place. Mr. *Wm. Pynchon*, with another company, sat down at *Roxbury*, and about this time, a few people fixed themselves at *Medford*. The peninsula, called by the natives *Shawmut*, and by the English *Trimountain*, the present site of *Boston*, seems not to have attracted the notice of the adventurers, and remained the solitary residence of a Mr. *Blackstone*, an *Episcopalian* minister, whose humble cottage was situated on *Barton's point*, where he had resided some time. The period of the arrival of this gentleman is not known. *Cotton Mather* says, "There have at several times arrived in this country, more than a score of ministers, from other parts of the world. There were some Godly *Episcopalians*, among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. *Blackstone*. This man was indeed of a particular humour, and he would never join himself to any of our churches, giving this reason for it, 'I came from England because I did not like the Lords' Bishops';

but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the Lords' Brethren."\*

Governor Winthrop being informed by Mr. Blackstone, that there was an excellent spring of water at Shawmut, and invited by this gentleman to view the place, Mr. Johnson and others, crossed over, and were highly pleased with the situation. Huts were soon after erected for the reception of the people; and in the month of September, the governor and most of the assistants, removed their families to the peninsula; but it appears, not with the determination of making it a permanent residence.

Thus commenced the settlement of the metropolis of Massachusetts, which now exhibits a population of upwards of forty three thousand. Less than two centuries ago, the peninsula, now covered by the city, was a dreary wild, the occasional resort of a few rude sons of the forest; now the abode of wealth, elegance, arts, science and mercantile enterprise; and blest with all that renders life respectable.†

Previously to the arrival of the governor and assistants from Charlestown, a court was held at that place, on board of the ship *Arabella*, at which provision was made for maintaining the ministers of the gospel; and houses were ordered to be built for their accommodation, at the public charge; the price of labor fixed for mechanics, and other business transacted. At another court held at the same place, Trimountain was named Boston.

The first *general court* of Massachusetts, was held in Boston, October nineteenth, at which many of the planters attended. At this court it was resolved that the *freemen* should choose the assistants, and the assistants the governor and deputy governor, from among themselves; who with the assistants, were to have the power of making laws, and electing officers to execute them. At a court in November, a man was whipped for shooting a fowl on the Sabbath; and one of the assistants for whipping two persons, without the presence of another assistant, (the law requiring two) was fined five pounds.

\* *Magnalia*, Book 3.

† *Chickatawbut* at this time, was the principal sachem of the country, whose seat was at Neponset; and he seems to have been peaceably disposed towards the settlers, as no opposition was made to the planting of his lands.

The governor and assistants, and other leading men, having resolved to select a position for a *fortified town*, the adjacent country was explored for that purpose, and a site at length found to their acceptance, on the north side of Charles river, below Watertown, about three miles westerly of Charlestown. The place was laid out into streets, intersecting at right angles—the frame of a house set up for the governor, another for the deputy governor, and the whole of the officers of government, were to remove to the place, in the Spring of 1631, which was named *New Town*, the same plat on which Cambridge is now built. The project of fortifying the place and fixing it for the seat of government, was afterwards given up, and the frame of the governor's house was removed to Boston, which now became his permanent residence.

In the course of this year, a number of people who had recently arrived from England, settled at the New Town; two hundred emigrants were soon after added to the place, and settlements began to spread in various directions. *Saugus*, (now Lynn) was planted about this time.

On the eighteenth of May, 1631, the first court of *elections*, was held at Boston; John Winthrop was again chosen governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy governor. It was then ordered, that a court should be held at least once in every year. And “that the body of the commons might be preserved of good and honest men, it was also ordered, ‘*that for the time to come, no man be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within its limits;*’ and subsequently it was resolved, ‘*that none but such should share in the administration of civil government, or have a voice in any election.*’”

Remarking upon this extraordinary aberration from their former principles, Dr. Ramsay says, “No better apology can be made for this inconsistent conduct, than, that the true grounds of liberty of conscience were then neither understood nor practised, by any sect of christians; nor can any more satisfactory account of so open a derilection of former principles be offered, than that human nature is the same in all bodies of men; and that those who are in, and those who are

out of power, insensibly exchange opinions with each other, on a change of their respective situations.”\*

In July this year, a public tax was granted, for clearing a creek, and opening a passage from Charles river to the New Town, (Cambridge). The following sums apportioned on the several towns, will shew their relative importance at that time.

£ S.		£ S.	
Winisemit, . . .	0 15	Boston, . . .	5 00
Wessagusset, . .	2 00	Roxbury, . . .	3 00
Saugus, (Lynn,) .	1 00	Salem, . . .	3 00
Nantasket, . . .	0 10	Dorchester, . .	4 10
Watertown, . . .	5 00	Charlestown, . .	4 10

*Meadford* is not included in the list, probably the settlements at that place at this time were few.

At a subsequent court, it was ordered that corn should pass for the payment of all debts, at the usual rate at which it was sold, unless money or beaver was named. Corn at this time was ten shillings “a *strike*” and beaver six shillings the pound; a milch cow was valued from twenty five to thirty pounds.†

About this time the eastern Indians, called the Tarratines, began to exhibit a spirit of hostility towards the English and soon committed depredations. Lieutenant Walker, commanding a guard at Saugus, being at an advanced post in the night, received two arrows in his clothes, shot by lurking Indians belonging to this nation; and in August the same year, one hundred Tarratines arrived at Aggawam, (Ipswich,) in thirty canoes, and landing in the night, assaulted the wigwam of the Sagamore of that place, killed seven men and wounded two chiefs; they then rifled the place and carried off the fishing nets, and a quantity of provisions. The Narragansets also began depredations at the Plymouth trading house at *Sowam*, now Bristol, in Rhode Island, and about the same time, a shallop belonging to Dorchester, was attacked and the crew murdered by the Tarratines.

These depredations in different quarters, indicating a combined effort against the English, they immediately adopted measures for defence; guards were employed at the various settlements; the people were ordered to attend

\* American Revolution, Vol. i.

† Holmes' Annals, Vol. i. p. 263.

trainings to prepare themselves for active service, and the government renewed the project of fortifying the New Town, and in 1632, a tax of sixty pounds, was levied on the towns for that purpose, in the following proportion.\*

£		£ S.	
Watertown, . . .	8	Salem, . . .	4 10
New Town, . . .	3	Boston, . . .	8
Charlestown, . .	7	Roxbury, . . .	7
Meadford, . . .	3	Dorchester, . .	7
Saugus and } . .	6	Wessagusset, . .	5
Marble Harbor, }		Winisimit, . . .	1 10

£60

A fortification was began on the *Cornhill* in Boston, and the people in the adjoining towns afforded their aid in the work. During the alarm the Sagamores in the vicinity of Boston, held out strong professions of friendship; and the great sachem Miantonimoh, of the Narragansets, unwilling to engage in a war with the English, travelled to Boston and expressed his desire of forming a league of friendship, and of remaining at peace, on which the alarm subsided.

Thus relieved from their fears, the people began to extend their plantations into the interior and along the coast, and before the conclusion of 1636, settlements were made at Quascacumquen, (Newbury,) Muskeraquid, (Concord,) Beaver Cove, (Hingham,) Aggawam, (Ipswich,) and Sudbury. A few new towns had also been planted in Plymouth colony, and in New Hampshire, besides the settlement at Piscataqua, and one at Strawberry bank, now Portsmouth.

On a review of the incidents connected with the first settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, it cannot but appear on the first view, extraordinary that the planters met with so little interruption from the natives. From the hostile conduct towards the ships trading on the coast, previous to the landing of the pilgrims, nothing but vindictive war was to have been expected. Instead of this, the natives generally evinced a peaceable disposition, and admitted the English among them with apparent satisfac-

\* A fosse dug around the New Town, Cambridge, is in some places, visible to this day.—*Holmes' Annals*, Vol. i. p. 266. Note.



tion. On reflection however, several circumstances may be mentioned to explain their conduct. Both colonies took great pains to conciliate the natives in their first intercourse with them : in most cases the settlers obtained their lands by fair purchase, though it must be admitted that the price paid was small, but it is generally believed to have been equal to their value at the time. In all cases where the natives complained of injuries done them, full satisfaction was made by the English, either by punishing the aggressors, or by paying the damage sustained, and this generally had a good effect. Sometime prior to the landing of the English for the purpose of making permanent settlements, the natives had occasionally traded with the fishing vessels on the coast, and thereby obtained many articles of European manufacture, which administered much to their comfort and convenience, and though they afterwards became hostile, in consequence of the cruel treatment of these navigators, it is probable they were not averse to the settlement of their lands by the English, provided they should be humanely treated, and a trade opened on fair terms, by which they could obtain further supplies. Besides, they saw that the English were powerful from the use of fire arms, and, no doubt, they perceived the advantages that would result to themselves from an alliance with the English, in carrying on their wars with the tribes with whom they were in hostility.

But perhaps the most powerful cause which disposed the natives to a peaceful policy may be attributed to a fatal sickness which had prevailed among them, and swept off vast numbers, a short time before the arrival of the settlers. So fatal was this disease, that whole lodges were depopulated, and the carcasses of the inhabitants were found, in great numbers, scattered about the woods, and their bones bleaching in the sun, when first explored by the English. Another fatal disease spread among the natives soon after the arrival of the English. This was the small pox, which had been imported from Europe, and probably was more fatal than the previous disease. When Dr. Cotton Mather wrote, he says, "there were many old planters living, who related that they assisted in burying whole families of the natives at once." Many, when seized with the disease, were deserted by their friends,

and left to die without assistance, in their miserable huts, and their carcasses to decay above ground. By these fatal diseases, the population of the country on the sea board, in Massachusetts and Plymouth, had very much diminished, and the natives felt little disposition to engage in hostilities with the planters.

The pacific disposition evinced by the two sachems Masassoit and Chickatawbut, who were still at the head of considerable tribes, was very fortunate for the first planters. Whether they were induced by real friendship, or other motives to permit the English to settle among them, is uncertain; but it cannot be doubted, that had these chiefs been hostile, the condition of the English would have been totally reversed: and it remains a question whether, with all the advantages derived from their fire arms and fortifications, they could have established themselves in New England under such circumstances.

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### CHAPTER III.

By the influx of emigrants from England, the sea-coast of Plymouth and Massachusetts, as well as the most eligible places in the vicinity, were now principally taken up for settlements, and the planters began to extend their views to more inland parts of the country. The rich alluvial bottoms on the Connecticut river (by the natives called the *Quonektacut*,) which had been visited and described by the Plymouth traders, who had sailed some distance up the stream, attracted their attention. Some time previously, *Wahquimacut*, one of the principal sachems residing on that river, visited Plymouth and Boston, and represented to the governors of both colonies, the fertility of the lands, and urged them to send people to settle on the banks of the river, promising to furnish corn and beaver to such as would accept of his invitation. The governor of Massachusetts treated the sachem with respect, but paid no further attention to his project. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth thinking it worthy of notice, soon sent people to explore the

country, and examine the river, and lands on its banks. The explorers found the river to be a capacious stream of pure water, bordered by extensive bottoms, partially cleared, on which considerable quantities of corn and other esculents were cultivated by the natives. Not only the river, but its confluent streams, abounded with fish of various kinds; of the larger sort, were salmon, shad, bass and sturgeon, which at the proper seasons were taken, particularly at the falls, in great abundance, by various artifices of the natives. Nor were the adjacent woods less prolific in game of all kinds found in similar latitudes. Besides the smaller quadrupeds, the moose, deer, bear, wolf, beaver, otter, fox and raccoon, were found in great plenty; and the catamount, the dreaded enemy of the other animals, was not unfrequently seen prowling the woods. Fowls were also numerous; those of the aquatic kind covered the ponds and rivers in the spring season, and the woods teemed with others proper for the table. The accounts of the prodigious flocks of pigeons found in the woods, "darkening the heavens in their flight," would hardly be credited, were it not that they have been seen in vast numbers in later times, and still continue innumerable in our western regions.

Notwithstanding these allurements, serious impediments presented to emigration to the Connecticut. The Indians were populous on the river, and should they prove hostile, the adventurers might not be able to maintain their plantations, without aid from their brethren on the sea coast, which could not be afforded on a sudden emergency. The obstruction of the navigation of the river by ice, in the winter season, was another difficulty attending the settlements on its banks; and it was evident this must be a great embarrassment to transportation by water. At first, it was determined to erect a trading house only, at some place convenient for exchanging English commodities for furs brought down the river by the natives. Governor Winthrop at first entered into the project with governor Bradford; but on further consideration, gave it up as unimportant, and left the latter to carry it into operation without him.

A position for a trading house having been selected, the enterprising people of Plymouth resolved to occupy

it, as soon as possible. In 1633, materials for a small building, completely prepared, were put on board a vessel, with a chosen company; and William Holmes, commissioned by the governor, sailed for Connecticut river, in July. On his arrival, he found the Dutch from New Netherlands had anticipated him, and erected a work which they called the Hirse of Goodhope, on the bank of the river, at the place now Hartford, and mounted it with cannon, with the intention of holding the country, which they claimed by a pretended prior discovery. Arriving opposite the fort, Holmes was ordered to lower sail and strike his colors, or the guns would open upon him. Disregarding the threat, he pressed boldly up the river, and landed on the right bank, a small distance below the mouth of the little river now in Windsor, where he set up his house, and enclosed it with a stockade. Several sachems, who had been driven from the river by the Pequots, and had sought refuge at Plymouth, returned to their country with Holmes, and pleased with the project of the English to settle among them, they readily sold the spot on which the trading house was built, then called *Natawanute*.

The establishment of the trading house at this place, gave umbrage to the Dutch at New Netherlands, and they resolved to drive the English from the station. The next year they sent a company of men to the Connecticut, to accomplish their design; but finding the English determined to maintain the place, and that it could not be taken without a bloody contest, they gave it up. Trading vessels now frequented the river, and large quantities of fur were procured of the natives. One ship sailed for England with a cargo of beaver and peltry amounting to £1000 sterling. The Dutch also shared in this lucrative trade; and it is stated that, in one year, they obtained not less than ten thousand skins of the natives.

From this pacific conduct of the natives on the Connecticut, the English flattered themselves that they should meet with no interruption in their trade; but in this they were disappointed. At this time the Pequots, a powerful people, living about what is now New London, and Stonington, were engaged in a war with the river Indians,

and of course they viewed the establishment of a trading station among their enemy, with a jealous eye, and were disposed to involve the English in the war. In the course of the year 1634, a small bark under captains Stone and Norton, from Massachusetts, loaded with merchandize, entered the river for the purpose of traffic; coming to anchor about six miles up the river, a number of natives came on board; Stone with two men, and several Indians, whom he had engaged as pilots, embarked in a skiff, to proceed up to the Dutch trading house at Hartford; but putting ashore below the place of destination, the Indians fell upon him and his two men, while asleep, and murdered them. In the mean time, twelve Indians who had remained on board the bark with friendly pretensions, murdered Norton and his men—plundered and sunk the bark, and carried off the goods. On hearing of this outrage, the council of Massachusetts dispatched messengers to the Pequots, to demand satisfaction; at first they appeared little disposed to listen to any terms, but at length a conference was held, at which a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between them and the English.

The difficulty having thus terminated, and the Indians on the river higher up, remaining friendly, a company from Dorchester, New Town and Watertown in Massachusetts, allured by the fertility of the land on the Connecticut, resolved to emigrate to that river, and form settlements below the Plymouth trading house. Some of the Watertown people had already explored the country, and erected a fishing hut at *Pauquiaug*; while others of Dorchester had visited *Mattaneang* preparatory to settlements on the river. Having obtained, though not without considerable opposition, liberty from the government of Massachusetts to depart; on the fifteenth of October, about sixty men, women and children, with their horses, cattle and swine, commenced their journey through the wilderness, for Connecticut river. The undertaking was arduous, and the march necessarily tedious. The country through which they were to pass, was a continued forest, in many places broken into abrupt hills, and intersected by many rapid streams and swamps, difficult to pass; where roads were to be found, they were narrow

Indian trails, scarcely accessible to civilized men, loaded with their requisite baggage. After a journey of fourteen days, in which the adventurers suffered great fatigue and privations, they arrived at their places of destination. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, ministers of Dorchester, accompanied by the greater part of their churches, sat down at Mattaneang, to which they gave the name of Windsor; the Watertown people took possession of the fertile meadows of Panquiaug, and named it Weathersfield; and the New Town people selected Suckiang, for their settlement, and gave it the name of Hartford.

Winter approaching, and their provisions being nearly expended, the adventurers began to suffer great privations. Their only hope of relief, was from the arrival of two small vessels which had sailed from Boston with supplies, but in this they were disappointed; for the vessels were unfortunately cast away on the passage, and famine now threatened them with destruction. They were at length, partially relieved by the arrival of a vessel, with provisions at the mouth of the river; but as the passage up was now closed by ice, it was with much difficulty they transported them to their plantations. Under these multiplied sufferings, many of the adventurers, becoming disheartened, went down the river—embarked and returned to Boston; those who remained barely escaped starvation, by feeding on acorns and wild meats, procured by hunting, or purchase from the natives; but many of the cattle perished. On the opening of the next spring, most of the adventurers who had returned to Boston, came back to their plantations, accompanied by new adventurers.

Not long after the first settlers arrived at the Connecticut, John Winthrop, son of the governor of Massachusetts, sent a bark of thirty tons, with twenty men, to take possession of the mouth of the river, and erect a fortification. The fort was but partially completed, when a Dutch vessel from Manhattan, appeared off the harbor, with orders from the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, to take possession of the place, and fortify it. Winthrop's men having mounted two cannon, threatened to open a fire upon the Dutch, if the men attempted to execute their orders, on which they returned to Manhattan, without

effecting their object. The position at the mouth of the river, was named *Saybrook*, which it still retains.

Winthrop had recently returned from England, bearing a commission from lords Say and Seal and lord Brook and others, constituting him governor of Connecticut. The first grant of this territory had been made to the earl of Warwick, by the Plymouth company, and by him assigned to these gentlemen in England, in 1630, and included "all that part of New England, in America, which lies, and extends itself from a river, there called Narraganset river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line, near the sea shore, towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and all and singular, the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the bounds aforesaid, north and south, in latitude, and breadth, and in length, and in longitude of, and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the main lands there, from the Western ocean to the South sea."

The settlements made on the Connecticut, by the Massachusetts and Plymouth adventurers, were included in the foregoing patent; but the proprietors, far from a disposition to disturb them, permitted them quietly to enjoy these possessions; but they were considered as under the government of Mr. Winthrop. The territory was afterwards sold by the agents of lords Say and Seal and lord Brook, to the Connecticut adventurers for £1600.

In the summer of 1636, another company from New Town, in Massachusetts, emigrated to the Connecticut. This consisted of one hundred men, women and children, under the conduct of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, ministers of that town. Accompanied by one hundred and sixty head of cattle, the adventurers set out in the month of June; their sufferings were not less severe than those of the former adventurers. With no guide but the compass, nor covering but the Heavens, they pressed forward on their course, and submitted to the fatigues of the journey with fortitude. Their scanty supply of provisions, added to the milk of their cows, barely enabled them to subsist themselves; at length they arrived at Hartford, where they commenced the building of houses, and the place soon began to assume the appearance of a town.

The same year, a company from Roxbury, under Mr. William Pynchon, traversed the wilderness, and formed a settlement at *Aggawam*, now Springfield, on Connecticut river. The place was then supposed to be within the limits of Connecticut, and for about two years, was united in government with the three towns below.

The settlers of the towns of Weathersfield, Hartford and Windsor, finding they were without the limits of Massachusetts, entered into a voluntary association, and established a temporary government. Magistrates were chosen—a court was held at Hartford, on the twenty sixth day of April, and several laws enacted for the management of their public affairs.

During these transactions on the Connecticut, a settlement was commenced at *Mooshausick*, in Rhode Island, by Roger Williams, who in grateful remembrance of the providential goodness, which he had experienced, he named Providence. This gentleman, a puritan minister, had been settled at Salem, as an assistant to the clergyman of that place; but holding tenets considered heretical and seditious, he had been banished the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. First seating himself at *Seconck*, within the colony of Plymouth, where had purchased a tract of land of the sachem of *Pokanoket*, he was advised by governor Winslow, to remove out of his jurisdiction; with this advice he readily complied, and seated himself at Providence.

In the eastern border of Massachusetts, settlements were extending in various directions. In 1636, twenty four towns had been planted—ship building had commenced at Marblehead—mills were erected in several places, and the general court, contemplating a public school at New Town, granted £400 for its encouragement. The militia was divided into three regiments, and placed under as many colonels, for the defence and safety of the colony. Plymouth evinced an equal spirit of enterprise; new towns were constantly arising—trade began to flourish, and the people to enjoy the blessings of liberty and competency.

The towns on the Connecticut, though under some embarrassment from the Dutch claims, and alarms occasioned by the murder of Stone and Norton, were improv-



ing, and increasing in population. At the close of 1636, the three towns first settled, included about eight hundred people, of which, two hundred and fifty were males, capable of bearing arms. But from the hostile disposition of the Pequots, it was apparent that the time was not distant when the inhabitants on the river, would be compelled to desert their plantations, or to maintain them by an appeal to arms. Appearances also indicated that the Narragansets, as well as the Indians of the neighboring islands, would not long continue pacific, and an event soon occurred, which demonstrated that these apprehensions were not ill founded. In the course of this year, a trading bark under the command of captain John Oldham, of Massachusetts, who had with him three or four boys, was attacked and made prisoner, near *Manisses*, since called Block island, and the captain murdered, as was supposed, by the Indians of that island. One Gallop, with a small vessel and three men, soon after, discovering Oldham's bark near the island with a number of Indians on the deck, bore down and commenced a fierce attack upon the vessel—killed a number of the Indians—driving others overboard, and at length gained possession of the prize, in the hold of which the body of Mr. Oldham was found, barbarously mangled. The wind being high, Gallop abandoned the bark, and she was driven to the Narraganset shore. On investigating the affair, it was ascertained that both the Narragansets and Pequots, were accessory to the murder, and the governor of Massachusetts, after a fruitless attempt to obtain the murderers, dispatched captain Endicott with ninety men to the Pequots to offer terms of peace, on condition that they would surrender the murderers, and desist from further hostilities, otherwise to chastise them. On arriving at Block island, Endicott was opposed by about fifty Indians, but pressing on he effected a landing, and after a slight skirmish the Indians fled into the woods. About sixty wigwams, and two hundred acres of corn were found on the island: these, with many canoes were immediately destroyed. Endicott then sailed to Pequot harbor, and demanded the murderers of Stone and Norton and their crews. But finding the Indians disposed to hostilities, he burnt a few wigwams, and, unable to bring

them to terms, he left twenty men, with orders to proceed to Saybrook fort, and strengthen that garrison, and returned to Boston on the fourteenth of September.

The boat in which the party was to sail to Saybrook being detained by contrary winds for several days, the men went on shore to seize some corn belonging to the enemy; while employed in this business, the Indians made a sudden attack, with bows and arrows—the ground being open, the English, with their fire arms, easily kept them at a respectful distance, and after skirmishing several hours, embarked with only one man wounded; but several of the Indians were killed.

With the Narragansets the English were more successful. On receiving a solemn embassy from the governor of Massachusetts, Miantonimoh, their acting sachem, repaired to Boston, with several petty chiefs, and entered into a treaty with the English, binding themselves to make no peace with the Pequots without the consent of the English, or harbor them in any case, and that they would return all fugitive servants, and deliver to the English, or put to death, all murderers.

The expedition of Endicott, though it proved a severe chastisement to the Block island Indians, produced no important effect upon the high minded Pequots, but rather increased their enmity, and more bloody disasters were apprehended from these implacable enemies. This nation, by the neighboring Indians, was considered as a powerful and bloody people, and with them they had frequent and disastrous wars. They were seated in the southeast quarter of Connecticut, and possessed several fortifications, not easily to be carried by attacks with Indian weapons. Their chief sachem was the formidable Sassacus, who had under his command, twenty six petty captains, little inferior to himself in prowess, and he could bring into the field, on short notice, seven hundred fierce warriors, besides a considerable force from his allies, the Mohegans and Nehanticks. Viewing the English as intruders upon his lands, Sassacus was kindled into the highest resentment, and he determined to drive them from the Connecticut. His first hostile steps were upon the trading vessels, as has been related; but before committing further depredations, it was his inten-

tion to have engaged the Narragansets in the war; but in this he was disappointed, by the treaty they had concluded with the English. This circumstance however did not deter the Pequots from their designs, and their next depredations were turned to the English fort at Saybrook, under the command of lieutenant Gardiner.

In the month of October, 1636, five men having been sent four miles up the river to gather hay in a meadow on the left bank, were suddenly attacked by a party of Pequots, secreted in the long grass; one man was captured, another received five arrows in different parts of his body, but escaped to the boat with three others, and put off without further injury. The captured man was one *Butterfield*, and the meadow where he was taken has since been called by his name. Fourteen days after this affair, six men were posted in a small hut to guard a cornfield about four miles from Saybrook fort: three of the party who ventured out some distance to shoot fowls, were suddenly surrounded by about one hundred Indians. One broke through the enemy's circle and escaped; the two others were captured. The Indians then approached the fort—destroyed a quantity of hay in the stack, and killed and wounded several cattle, feeding in the vicinity. Before the close of the year another attack was made on a party of English near the fort; ten or twelve men, under the commander of the fort, went out to burn the marshes upon a neck of land not far distant; as soon as they had passed the isthmus, a party of Pequots rose from a covert place, and attempted to enclose the English and cut off their retreat; perceiving their danger, they made a rapid return, but before they gained the fort, several were killed—a few cannon shot soon drove the enemy into the woods. But they still hovered about the place, and kept the garrison in a constant state of alarm.

In the month of April, 1637, the enemy renewed their depredations on the English, higher up the river. A party of Weathersfield people, going to their labor in the fields, were attacked—nine killed, and two young women captured; twenty cows and some other property were destroyed before the enemy left the town.

Finding war unavoidable, the Connecticut people acted with vigour. A court was summoned to meet on the first

day of May, at which it was resolved, that an offensive war should be immediately commenced against the ferocious enemy; ninety men were ordered to be raised, from the three towns on Connecticut river, and captain Mason was appointed to command an expedition into the heart of the Pequot country. Application was made to Plymouth and Massachusetts, to join in the expedition, and those colonies ordered two hundred and fifty men to be raised, under captains Stoughton, Trask, and Patrick; the former was appointed commander. The Rev. John Wilson of Boston, was appointed chaplain of the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces.

The Connecticut troops were raised with great expedition, and on the tenth of May, Capt. Mason, with ninety men, and seventy Mohegan and river Indians, under the sachem Uncas, embarked on board several small vessels, and fell down the river to Saybrook fort. While at this place, forty of Mason's Indians, out some distance from the place, fell in with seven of the enemy, killed five and captured one, who was brought to the fort and executed by the English. Here the little army was joined by Capt. Underhill, with nineteen men, who, the preceding winter, had been sent by governor Vane of Massachusetts, to strengthen the garrison of Saybrook; and Mason ordered an equal number of his original force, to return home for the protection of the settlements, which he apprehended might be attacked, during his absence.

After remaining several days at Saybrook, to complete his arrangements, Mason sailed with his Connecticut forces for Narraganset bay, where he arrived on the nineteenth of May. At this place two hundred of Miantonimoh's Narragansets were engaged to accompany the English forces on the expedition. Information was now received from Capt. Patrick, that he had arrived at Roger Williams' plantation at Providence, with forty Massachusetts men, under orders to form a junction with the Connecticut troops. Apprehensive that the Pequots might gain intelligence of the expedition, Mason commenced his march, without waiting for Patrick's company, and soon reached Nihantick, the seat of one of the Narraganset sachems, where he was joined by an additional body of

Indians; the whole in the army amounting to about five hundred, with seventy seven Englishmen.

By information obtained from the Narragansets, it was found, that the Pequots occupied two forts, one at Mystic river about twenty four miles, the other twenty seven miles, from the camp at Nihantick; both in the eastern part of the present town of Groton. The forts were represented by the Indians as formidable works, and difficult to carry by assault; besides the dreadful Sassacus commanded. Mason was not intimidated by these representations; and as the weapons of his enemy consisted principally of bows and spears he entertained little doubt of success, with his fire arms; and though his Indians discovered much irresolution, and dreadful apprehensions of Sassacus, Mason determined to press on, and assault the strongest fort. After a march of about twelve miles, through forests, and over hills and morasses, in a very hot day, Mason reached the Pawcatuck, where he halted and refreshed his troops. At this place many of the Indians, overcome by their fears, left Mason, and returned home to Narraganset; but the determined leader resolving to advance with his diminished force, despatched a faithful Indian to reconnoitre the fort, who soon returned with information, that the Pequots were unapprised of their danger, and appeared to be resting in perfect security.

The march was immediately recommenced, under the guidance of *Wequash*, a revolted Pequot, towards Mystic river, where stood one of the forts, and on the night of the 26th of May, the whole body encamped at Porter's rocks, about three miles from the fort. Two hours before day, the next morning, the troops were in motion for the assault; and on approaching near the fort, it was found to be situated on the summit of a hill, in the centre of a handsome opening easily discerned through the gray of the morning, and intervening woods. Mason's Indians now entirely lost their resolution, and began to fall back, on which by much persuasion, he induced them to form an extended circle about the fort, at a safe distance, and there to remain, witnesses of the resolution of his Englishmen. Forming these into two columns, one under captain Underhill, the other under himself, he ordered the attack to be made in opposite directions. The enemy had

spent the forepart of the night in a frolic, and were now in a profound sleep, and without their usual watch. On a close approximation of the English, a dog within the fort, began to roar, which awakened one of the Pequots, who perceiving the advance of the assailants, vociferated the alarm, *Awannux! Awannux!* (Englishmen! Englishmen!) which roused the others from their fatal security; and while they were rallying, Mason's troops advanced and poured in a fire through the apertures of the palisades, and wheeling off to a side barracaded only with brush, rushed into the fort sword in hand—Underhill with his party, entered at the same time. The enemy notwithstanding their great confusion, made a desperate resistance; covering themselves in, and behind their wigwams, they maintained their ground with resolution against the English, who advanced in different directions, cutting, thrusting, or hewing them down with their swords without mercy. The victory hanging in suspense, Mason ordered the wigwams to be fired, and in a few moments the mats, with which they were covered, were in a blaze, and the flames spread in all directions, which compelled the assailants to retire to the exterior side, where they formed a circle about the fort, with the auxiliary Indians beyond them, in their former position. Driven from their covert by the fire, the distressed Pequots, climbed the palisades and presenting themselves in full view, more than one hundred were shot down; others sallying, and attempting to break through the surrounding troops, were shot or cut down by the English swords; if any were so fortunate as to break through the first circle, they were sure to meet death at the second, formed by the Indians. In the mean time many perished in the flames within the fort. The scene continued about an hour, and is hardly to be described; seventy wigwams were consumed, and between five and six hundred Pequots, of all descriptions, strewed the ground, or were involved in the conflagration. The victory was achieved with the loss of only two men killed, and sixteen wounded, on the part of the English.

In the course of the attack, in the interior of the fort, captain Mason narrowly escaped death. Entering a wigwam to procure a firebrand, a Pequot drew his arrow to the head, with a design to pierce the captain's body;

fortunately a resolute serjeant, entering at the moment, severed the bow string with his cutlass, and saved his commander.

Though the English had been completely successful in their attack on the fort, and had suffered but a trifling loss, their situation was critical. The provisions conveyed upon the backs of the men, were nearly exhausted—the men were much fatigued by their previous march, in which little time had been given for repose; and another powerful body of the enemy, under the daring Sassacus, was in the possession of the other fort, not far distant. The flotilla which had landed the troops at Narraganset, had been ordered, on Mason's departure from the bay, to proceed to Pequot harbor, with supplies for the little army; but it had not yet reached the place. Under these embarrassing circumstances Mason was at a loss how to shape his future operations and in constant expectation of an attack from Sassacus and his exasperated warriors. In a short time however, he was relieved from his dilemma, by the sight of the flotilla, under full sail, entering Pequot harbour with an ample supply of provisions. Mason immediately commenced his march for the harbour, nearly six miles distant, and a body of about three hundred furious Indians were soon pressing upon his flanks and rear; and covering themselves with trees and rocks, galling his troops with their arrows. Capt. Underhill with some of the best men, covered the rear of the column, and by a well directed fire, as opportunity presented, compelled the enemy to give up the pursuit.

Embarking on board the vessels, Mason with his brave companions, sailed for Connecticut river, and arriving at their plantations, they were received by their friends, with the highest demonstrations of joy; having been absent about three weeks. "Every family, and every worshiping assembly," says Dr. Trumbull, "spake the language of praise and thanksgiving."

The capture of the fort, and the loss they had sustained, threw the Pequots into great consternation. On viewing the destruction they were frantic with rage—they stamped the ground—tore their hair, and filled the air with their horrible cries. But as the number still under Sassacus was formidable, the danger had not subsided, and

the English had much to fear from their increased resentment.

The success of the Connecticut forces being communicated to the governor of Massachusetts, from Roger Williams, by an Indian runner, it was judged that the whole of the forces from Plymouth and Massachusetts, but a part of which had been put in march, were not now required for the prosecution of the war. Only one hundred and twenty men penetrated the Pequot country, under captains Stoughton, Trask and Patrick.\* In June, this force reached Pequot harbor, and in conjunction with a body of Narragansets, marched into the interior, for the purpose of devastation. During their operations, they hemmed in a body of Pequots upon a peninsula formed by a river, killed thirty, and made eighty prisoners. Thirty of the captives were warriors; these were put on board a small vessel under captain Gallop, at Pequot harbor—conveyed a small distance out and dispatched. A most disgraceful act of the commander of the forces, is executed by his order.† The troops under Stoughton, were afterwards joined by forty men from Connecticut, under the gallant Mason. With this force, added to the Narragansets, Sassacus found it in vain to contend; he destroyed his remaining forts and wigwams, and with a large body of his chief counsellors and warriors, fled towards Hudson's river, while others left their country, and joined the distant tribes in other directions.

The route of Sassacus towards the Hudson lying along the sea coast, the English resolved to pursue, and if possible, complete his destruction, and rid themselves of a dangerous enemy. For this purpose part of the forces were embarked in light vessels, to proceed by water, while the remainder should traverse the shore. At *Me-nunkatuck*, since Guilford, several straggling] Pequots

\* Dr. Robinson, on the authority of Neal, says, the march of the Massachusetts forces was retarded by the following singular cause. When they were mustered previous to their departure, it was found that some of their officers, as well as the private soldiers, were still under a *covenant of works*; and that the blessing of God could not be implored, or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the uncleanness, and render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity.—*History of America*. Vol. ii, Book 10.

† Captain Stoughton was afterwards one of the sage judges of Massachusetts, who sat for the trials of witchcraft at Salem.



were captured by the English, among whom were two Sachems, who, obstinately refusing to give information of the destination of the main body, were put to death, at a place since known by the name of *Sachems'-head*, in that town.

Continuing the pursuit, the English arrived at *Quinipiack*, now New Haven, where they received intelligence that the enemy had halted at a great swamp, in the present town of Fairfield, and had been joined by many of the natives of the country, making in the whole, a force of nearly three hundred. The English immediately pressed their march, reached the swamp on the thirteenth of July, and soon invested it on all sides. A small party under lieutenant Davenport, incautiously pressing into the swamp, was attacked and driven back, and severely wounded by Indian arrows. Terms of surrender were now offered to the enemy, on which about one hundred old men, women and children, most of whom were natives of the country, came out of the swamp, and submitted to the English; but the high spirited Pequots, resolving to die, or escape, continued to resist with resolution. When night came on, the English opened a narrow passage into the swamp, by cutting away the brush with their swords, and closing in their line, kept up a scattering fire during the night. A thick fog hanging over the swamp at day break the next morning, a body of fierce warriors made a rapid charge, at one point, and after a severe conflict, broke through the English line, and sixty or seventy escaped; about twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty of all descriptions, found in the recesses of the swamp, were made prisoners. Sassacus and about twenty of his faithful warriors fled to the Mohawks, where it seems the chief was not very cordially received; for not long after, he, with most of his fugitives were put to death by these people, and his scalp sent to Connecticut.\*

The victory at the Great Swamp, completed the ruin of the Pequot nation. A few still skulking about the woods in their native land, were taken by the Narragansets, and Mohegans, and not unfrequently their heads

\* According to Hubbard, Sassacus had escaped to the Mohawks, previous to the arrival of the English at the swamp, and therefore was not in the fight; others state the affair substantially as given in the text.

were brought to the English on Connecticut river. Most of the warriors whose lives were spared, were given to the auxiliary Indians, who treated them as their own people. Some of the males were sent to the West Indies, and their country became the property of the English. In the course of this bloody war, at least seven hundred Pequots are supposed to have been destroyed, thirteen of whom were sachems. The English loss of men was small: in all their battles with their enemy, even with inferior numerical forces, their fire arms gave them a vast superiority, and when the enemy approached sufficiently near to do execution with their bows and arrows, they were certain to loose great numbers, and it was impossible to break in or repulse the English, so long as they remained in a body, and managed their fire with dexterity.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

The succesful termination of the Pequot war, though it relieved the settlers on the Connecticut from the depredations of the Indians, yet it left them to contend with many serious difficulties. A considerable public debt had been incurred; the population was reduced, and considerable property had been destroyed. Interrupted in their agricultural pursuits, the necessary provisions had not been raised, and the following winter proving uncommonly severe, articles of food and clothing were with difficulty procured.

To relieve the wants of the people, application was made to Mr. Pyncheon of Springfield, for a quantity of Indian corn, which he was requested to purchase of the neighboring Indians, and a vessel was dispatched to Narraganset for the same purpose. Notwithstanding these exertions a great scarcity still continued, and the extraordinary price of twelve shillings was paid for a bushel. The quantity of corn obtained being still short of the demand, agents were sent up the Connecticut to *Pocomtuck*, now Deerfield, where considerable quantities were raised: and the Indians of that place descended the river with fifty canoes, loaded with that article of food.

This in some measure relieved the suffering people, and the most delicate fed on bread made of this coarse, though wholesome material. But these embarrassments did not long continue. The people now left to prosecute their labor without interruption, were soon able to raise a supply of provisions from their fertile lands, and, by bartering with their friends in the older settlements, to procure most of the necessaries of life. Thus relieved from their distresses, they soon began to extend their plantations into various parts of the adjacent country.

In the summer of 1637, John Davenport, a celebrated minister of London, Theophilus Eaton, and Edward Hopkins, merchants of the same place, and several other persons, arrived at Boston, with the intention of establishing a settlement where they might enjoy civil and religious liberty. Finding the country about Boston, already principally covered with plantations, they determined to look out some unsettled place for themselves and others, who were expected soon to follow them from England. The situation of Quinipiack, had been noted by the troops employed in the expedition against Sassacus, and favorably represented. Believing this an eligible situation, the adventurers resolved to procure a tract of land at that place, or in its vicinity. In the autumn, Mr. Eaton and a few others, proceeded to explore the country, and they at length pitched upon Quinipiack for their settlement; and here they erected a hut, and remained during the winter.

The next spring, Mr. Davenport and the rest of the company, sailed from Boston, and landed at Quinipiack; the first Sunday, the people assembled under a large spreading oak, where Mr. Davenport delivered a sermon. Not long after their arrival, Quinipiack was purchased of *Monauguin*, the sachem of that part of the country. Besides engaging to protect him against the Indians of the neighborhood, they paid to him and his tribe, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve *alchymy* spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve poringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. Other lands lying in the vicinity, were afterwards purchased of the sachem of *Mattebeseck*, since Middletown, and the following year, the people adopted a frame of government.

for the colony, and Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor of the Province. Quinipiack at this time received the name of New Haven.

In January the same year, all the free planters of the three towns upon the Connecticut river, convened at Hartford, and formed a constitution for the government of their colony; and in April, John Haynes was chosen governor, agreeably to the constitution. The two provinces of Connecticut and New Haven remained distinct and separate governments, until united by charter in 1662, by the name of the governor and company of the English colony of Connecticut, in New England.

While settlements were thus spreading westward of Connecticut river, religious intolerance in Massachusetts was preparing the way for a new colony in another quarter. Yes, singular as it may appear, the people who had suffered so severely under the English hierarchy, "had so far forgotten their sufferings, as to press for uniformity in religion, and to turn persecutors." Roger Williams had already been banished the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, for heresy, and the frivolous reveries of a lady, (Mrs. Hutchinson,) about this time, having enlisted a few enthusiasts, produced great alarm among the clergy. In 1637, a synod convened at New Town, composed of all the teaching elders in the country, and after a long session, they condemned *eighty two erroneous opinions*, that were then prevalent in New England. More than fifty persons in Boston and the neighboring towns, suspected of heresy, were disarmed to prevent a breach of the peace, and it soon became a law, that none should be received into, or inhabit within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, but such as should be permitted by some of the magistrates.

In consequence of these arbitrary measures, John Clark, with a small company, left Massachusetts and proceeded to Providence, in search of a place where peace and liberty of conscience might be enjoyed. By the advice and aid of Roger Williams, they purchased *Aquetneck*, or Rhode Island, of the Narraganset sachem, in consideration of fifty fathoms of white beads. Other islands in the bay were subsequently purchased, and soon after, eighteen of the adventurers formed themselves into a body politic,

and chose William Coddington, their chief magistrate. The beauty and fertility of the islands, with the religious freedom the people enjoyed, attracted other settlers, and the islands very soon became so populous as to send out people to plant on the neighboring shores. About this time Newport began to be settled.

Notwithstanding these emigrations, by the influx of people from England, and the increase of the first stock of inhabitants, plantations were extending in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, and their population was increasing. In 1639, the militia of the former colony, were embodied into two regiments, composing a force of one thousand soldiers, and the whole were mustered for review in Boston. The same year a printing press was set up at Cambridge, (the New Town,) the first in North America. In Connecticut and New Haven colonies, new purchases of land were made of the Indians, and settlements extended in various directions. Previous to the close of 1639, plantations were begun at *Menunkatuck*, (Guilford,) *Cupheag* and *Pughquonnuck*, (Fairfield,) *Wopowage*, (Milford,) and about Saybrook fort, at the mouth of the Connecticut.

Mattebeseck, or Middletown, still remained in possession of the natives of that place, who being a numerous people, were not disposed to part with their lands so readily as those of the neighboring tribes. Such was their attachment to the place, and the number of their warriors, that they at one time held out a hostile attitude to prevent encroachments, and threatened war. The English at length prepared a military force to bring them to terms, but the difficulties were finally adjusted without recourse to actual hostility. About this time, a lodge of Pequots, who had been permitted to remain in the *Partucket* country after their subjection in 1637, evinced a hostile disposition towards the English; a small force under captain Mason, their old enemy, was sent to chastise them, and he promptly destroyed their lodge, captured, and delivered the Indians to Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans.

The Dutch claims at Hartford were attended with embarrassing circumstances to the settlers on Connecticut river. The fort they had built at that place, prior to the

arrival of the trading company under Holmes, still remained under a garrison of their troops, and they occupied about thirty acres of land contiguous. In 1641, the Dutch governor at Manhattan, asserted his claim to the territory on the river; but this was disregarded by the government of Connecticut, and the claim considered as void, on the ground that the Pequots, who had sold the lands to the Dutch, had no right to the country, and that the English settlers had bought theirs of the river Indians, the rightful owners. Finding that they could not obtain the lands by consent of the English, the Dutch governor detached a company of men to seize them by force. Difficulties occurring at this time, with the Indians on his own frontiers, prevented the march of his troops, but he still kept up his claim to the country. The difficulty continued several years, but did not produce actual war. At length, the dispute was amicably adjusted by arbitrators mutually chosen, who met at Hartford; the Dutch giving up their claim. A number of their people, however, remained at Hartford and continued to cultivate their lands, until they were sequestered by Connecticut.

The dislocated situation of the New England colonies; the wars with the Indians, and the difficulties arising out of the Dutch claims, had for some time turned the minds of the people to the subject of an union, and as early as 1638, measures had been taken to carry a plan into effect; several circumstances, however, rendered the scheme abortive. In 1643, the project was renewed, and commissioners from New Haven, Connecticut, Plymouth and Massachusetts, convened at Boston, and entered into articles of perpetual league, offensive and defensive.\* Each colony was to retain separate jurisdiction;—the charge of all wars to be borne in proportion to the male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age in each colony. Upon notice of an invasion from three magistrates of any colony, the others were immediately to send troops in aid—Massachusetts one hundred, and each of the other colonies forty five; and if a greater force should be necessary, the commissioners were to meet and determine the

\* The commissioners were the following: JOHN WINTHROP, THOMAS DUDLEY, EDWARD WINSLOW, WILLIAM COLLIER, EDWARD HOPKINS, THOMAS GRIGSON, THEOPHILUS EATON, and GEORGE FENWICK.—*Morton's New England's Memorial*.

numbers. Two commissioners from each colony, being church members, were to meet annually on the first Monday of September; the first meeting to be held in Boston, then at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, in succession. All matters wherein six should agree, to be binding upon the whole, and if there should be a majority, but under six, the matter in question to be referred to the general court of each colony, and not to be obligatory, unless the whole should agree.\* The commissioners were empowered to establish laws or rules of a civil nature, and of general concern, for the conduct of the inhabitants towards the Indians, and fugitives from one colony to another.

No colony to engage in a war, except upon a sudden emergency, and in that case to be avoided if possible, without the consent of the whole. When a meeting was summoned on any extraordinary occasion, and no more than four commissioners should attend, they were empowered to determine on war, when the case admitted of no delay, and to send for the quota of men, out of each jurisdiction.

If any colony should break an article of the league, or injure another colony, the matter to be considered by the other colonies.

The confederation was styled "*The United Colonies of New England.*" The plantations in New Hampshire at this time were under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and therefore included in the Union. Rhode Island, though it petitioned to be admitted into the Union, was refused, unless it would consent to be united with the government of Plymouth, and cease to be a separate province.

Defective as was this Union, it rendered the colonies more powerful—maintained a degree of harmony—protected individual and public rights, and in some measure secured the exterior settlements. Already fifty towns or villages, had been planted in New England, and ships built from one hundred to four hundred tons, several of which were employed on voyages, and a considerable trade was carried on at various ports. This year Massachusetts was divided into four counties;—Essex, Mid-

\* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. i.

Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, and included thirty towns and villages, under the following names. In the county of Essex—Salem, Lynn, Wenham, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester and *Cochichewick*. In Middlesex—Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, and Lynn-village. In Suffolk—Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and Nantasket, (Hull.) In Norfolk—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, and Strawberry-bank, (Portsmouth.)\* Springfield on Connecticut river, was not included within the limits of either of the counties; and as the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut was not ascertained, it was doubtful to which province it belonged. About this time, a settlement was begun at *Nashaway*, now Lancaster, in Massachusetts.

The towns in Plymouth colony, at this time, were the following. Plymouth, Duxborough, Scituate, Taunton, Rehoboth, Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth. A few were also planted in Main, at the mouths of rivers, and at the most convenient harbors along the coast.

Though the English settlements spread over a considerable extent of country to the westward; and were threatened with hostilities from the Dutch, who pretended to claim the lands at New Haven, as well as the adjacent country, the settlers flattered themselves, that from the protection derived from the union of the colonies, they should remain unmolested. But a misunderstanding occurring in 1644, between *Uncas*, the sachem of the Mohegans, with whom the English were in alliance, and Miantonimoh, that of the Narragansets, which produced a war, the English were not without apprehensions of sharing in the contest. And indeed the conduct of the latter chief had for some time indicated a design of uniting the neighboring tribes in a general war, to extirpate the settlers on the Connecticut.

A meeting of the commissioners of the colonies was held at Hartford, at which it was resolved to raise three hundred men; Massachusetts to furnish one hundred and ninety, Plymouth forty, Connecticut forty, and New Haven thirty, and to march into the Narraganset country

\* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. i. p. 112.



and chastise the Indians, provided they persisted in their hostile designs. Recollecting the fate of the Pequots, and the bravery of the English, the Narragansets were unwilling to meet such a force with their destructive fire arms. After some delay they signed articles of peace, and gave hostages for their performance ; and, excepting a company stationed in the Mohegan country, for the protection of Uncas, the English forces were soon disbanded.

But prior to the termination of the war Miantonimoh invaded the Mohegans with nine hundred of his warriors ; Uncas met him at the head of five hundred of his men, on a large plain ; both prepared for action, and advanced within bow shot. Before the conflict commenced, Uncas advanced singly and thus addressed his antagonist. " You have a number of men with you, and so have I with me ; it is a great pity that such brave warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between us. Come like a man, as you profess to be, and let us fight it out. If you kill me, my men shall be yours ; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine." Miantonimoh replied, " my men came to fight, and they shall fight !" Uncas instantly fell upon the ground, and his men poured a shower of arrows upon the Narragansets, and with a horrible yell, advanced rapidly upon them and put them to flight. Uncas and his men pressed on and drove them down a precipice, scattering them in all directions. Miantonimoh was overtaken and seized by Uncas, who by a shout called back his furious warriors. About thirty Narragansets were slain, and many wounded, among whom were several noted chiefs. Finding himself in the hands of his implacable enemy, Miantonimoh remained silent, nor could Uncas by any art, force him to break his sullen mood. " Had you taken me," said the conqueror, " I should have asked you for my life." No reply was made by the indignant chief, and he submitted without a murmur to his humiliating condition. He was afterwards conducted to Hartford, by his conqueror, and delivered to the English, by whom he was held in duress, until his fate should be determined, by the commissioners of the colonies.

After an examination of his case, the commissioners

resolved, "That as it was evident, that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimoh lived; but either by secret treachery, or open force, his life would be constantly in danger, he might justly put such a false and blood thirsty enemy to death; but this was to be done out of the English jurisdiction, and without cruelty or torture. Miantonimoh, was delivered to Uncas, and by a number of his trusty men, marched to the spot, where he was captured, attended by two Englishmen, to see that no torture was inflicted; and the moment he arrived at the fatal spot, one of Uncas' men came up behind, and with his hatchet split the skull of the unfortunate chief. It is stated that the savage Uncas then cut out a piece of the shoulder of the dead body, and ate it, with triumph, exclaiming, "*It is the sweetest meat I ever ate; it makes my heart strong!*" The body was buried on the spot, and a heap of stones piled upon the grave. The place since that time has been known by the name of *Sachem's plain*,\* and is situated in the town of Norwich in Connecticut.

The death of Miantonimoh, and the preparation for an invasion of the Narraganset country, by the English, as has been related, put an end to hostilities in the eastern part of Connecticut. But the Indians in the western quarter, towards the Hudson, about this time, seem to have caught the hostile spirit, and the Dutch settlements were compelled to take the field, in their own defence, and several battles were fought with various success. In 1646 a decisive action took place, between them on that part of Horseneck, known by the name of *Strickland's plain*, where the Dutch, after a severe contest, gained the ground; but great numbers were slain on both sides, and the graves where they were interred, for more than a century, presented evident memorials of the sanguinary scene. The Dutch were not alone the sufferers in the war. Several people on the frontier of New Haven colony, were killed, and an incursion was made into Windsor, the same year, by the *Waranoke* Indians, and considerable property destroyed.

These hostilities were of short duration; a calm succeeded, and settlements once more extended in various

\* Trumbull's Connecticut, Vol. i. p. 161.

directions. In 1648 a town was planted at *Nameaug* near the mouth of Pequot river, and named New London. To encourage the settlers at so exposed a situation, the government of Connecticut exempted them from public taxes, and more than forty families were soon found in the place. Pequot river from this time, took the name of *Thames*.

The next year a number of people seated themselves at Stonington, on the borders of the Narraganset country, and in 1660, settlements commenced at Norwich, at the head of navigation on the Thames. Part of this town was first conveyed to Ensign Thomas Leffingwell, by the sachem Uncas, in consideration of services rendered him in the war with the Narragansets. A fort belonging to this chief, on the bank of Pequot river, was closely besieged, by the Narragansets, and the provisions being nearly expended, it was reduced to the last extremity. Uncas contrived to notify the English at Saybrook fort, of his distressed situation, and Leffingwell, then an officer at that post, loaded a canoe with beef, corn and peas, and proceeding to the besieged fort, entered it in the night and relieved the famishing Indians. Finding their enemy thus supplied, the Narragansets raised the siege, and left the place. Uncas was so highly pleased, at the brave and generous conduct of Leffingwell, that he conveyed him the land about the fort; and afterwards made a formal deed, of a township to Leffingwell and others, comprehending a square of about nine miles, for which they paid the sachem seventy pounds.\*

While settlements were spreading in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, less embarrassed with Indian hostilities, continued to increase in population; and in 1644 their militia amounted to a respectable numerical force. In the former, twenty six training bands were ordered to be exercised and drilled eight days in each year; a troop of horse was raised, and Major General Thomas Dudley, appointed to command the whole. The Reverend John Wilson, of Boston, among other donors, presented to the colony a thousand pounds, for the purchase of artillery.†

\* Trumbull's Connecticut, Vol. i. † Holmes' Annals, Vol. i. p. 332.

In Massachusetts a general code or body of laws, had for several years engaged the attention of the general court, and committees, consisting of magistrates and elders, had been appointed to prepare one. In 1648 the whole that had been in use, were collected and printed by order of the court. The original draught, is said to have been the joint production of John Cotton, a minister of Boston, and the humorous Nathaniel Ward, who was sometime minister of Agawam.\* The laws called the "*Body of Liberties*," were compiled chiefly from the code of Moses, as early as 1639, and "commended to the general court;" but not accepted until 1641. It appears however that the whole proposed, were not adopted, as first presented by the two gentlemen; but in a few instances a little varied. The original copy was found in Mr. Cotton's study after his death, and has recently been published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.† The following extracts from the laws, will shew the peculiar spirit of our puritan fathers.

"Blasphemy, which is the cursing of God, by atheism, or the like, to be punished with death."

"Idolatry, to be punished with death."

"Witchcraft, which is fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit, to be punished with death."

"Consulters with witches, not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by death or banishment."

"Heresy, which is the maintenance of some wicked errors, overthrowing the foundation of the christian religion; which obstinacy, if it be joined with endeavor to

\* Mr. Ward had formerly been a student, if not a practitioner at law. He came to New England in 1634, and was employed as a pastor of the church at Ipswich, then called *Agawam*. After taking a very active part in the political concerns of Massachusetts, he returned to England in 1647. While at Ipswich, he wrote his "*Simple Cobler of Agawam*"; a curious specimen of his eccentric genius, and soon after published it in London. The deplorable state of the church was a prominent subject of the work. One object at which he pointed his artillery, was toleration of divers religions. "Poley-piety," says he, "is the greatest impiety in the world. To authorise an untruth by toleration of the state, is to build a scone against the walls of heaven—to batter God out of his chair. Persecution of true religion, and toleration of false, are the Jannes and Jambres to the kingdom of Christ, whereof the last is by far the worst. He thar is willing to tolerate any unsound opinion, that his own may be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need, hang God's bible at the devil's girdle. It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it: I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance."

† Vol. v. p. 173.

seduce others thereunto, to be punished with death ; because such an heretick, no less than an idolater, seeketh to thrust the souls of men from the Lord their God."

" To worship God in a molten or graven image, to be punished with death."

" Such members of the church as do wilfully reject to walk, after due admonition and conviction, in *the church's establishment*, and their christian admonition and censures shall be cut off by banishment.

" Whoever shall revile the religion and worship of God, and the government of the church, as it is now established, to be cut off by banishment.—*Cor.* 5 ; 5."

" Wilful perjury, whether before the judgment seat, or in private conference, to be punished with death."

" Profaning the Lord's day, in a careless and scornful neglect, or contempt thereof, to be punished with death."

" Reviling the magistrates in highest rank amongst us, to wit, the governors and council, to be punished with death.—1 *Kings*, 2 ; 8, 9, and 46."

" Rebellious children, whether they continue in riot or drunkenness, after due correction from their parents, or whether they curse or smite their parents, to be put to death. *Ex.* 21 ; 15, 17. *Lev.* 20 ; 9."

" Adultery, which is the defiling of the marriage bed, to be punished with death. Defiling a woman espoused, is a kind of adultery, and punishable by death of both parties, but if a woman be forced, then by the death of the man only. *Lev.* 20 ; 10. *Deut.* 22 ; 22 to 27."

" Incest, which is the defiling of any near of akin, within the degrees prohibited in Leviticus, to be punished with death."

" Whoredom of a maiden in her father's house, kept secret till after her marriage with another, to be punished with death. *Deut.* 22 ; 20, 21."

" Man stealing to be punished with death. *Ex.* 21 ; 16."

" False witness bearing to be punished with death."

Concerning the *Rights of Inheritance*, the following, among others, were the laws.

" That no free burgess, or free inhabitant of any town, shall sell land allotted to him in the town (unless the free burgesses of the town give consent unto such sale, or

refuse to give due price, answerable to what others offer, without fraud), but to some one or other of the free burgesses or free inhabitants of the same town."

"That if such lands be sold by any others, the sale shall be made with reservation of such a rent charge, to be paid to the town stock or treasury of the town, as either the former occupiers of the land were wont to pay towards all the public charges thereof, whether in church or town; or at least after the rate of three shillings per acre, or some such like proportion, more or less, as shall be thought fit."

For the supporting of the worship of God in church fellowship, it was ordered "that wheresoever the lands of any man's inheritance shall fall, yet no man shall set his dwelling house above the distance of half a mile, or a mile at the farthest, from the meeting of the congregation, where the church doth usually assemble for the worship of God."

"If a man have more sons than one, then a *double proportion* to be assigned and bequeathed to the eldest son, according to the law of nature; unless his own demerit do deprive him of the dignity of his birth."

Under the head of *trespasses*, the following is found—"If a man's ox, or other beast, gore or bite, and kill a man or woman, whether child or riper age, the beast shall be killed, and no benefit of the dead beast reserved to the owner. But if the ox, or beast were wont to push or bite in time past, and the owner hath been told of it, and hath not kept him in, then both the ox, or beast shall be forfeited and killed, and the owner also put to death, or fined to pay what the judges and persons damaged, shall lay upon him."

*Less heinous Crimes.*

"Forcing a maid, (or rape), was not to be punished with death by God's law; but with fine or penalty to the father of the maid—by marriage of the maid defiled, if she and her father consent; or with corporal punishment of stripes for his wrong, as a slander."

"Fornication, to be punished with the marriage of the maid, giving her a sufficient dowry; or with stripes, though fewer, from the equity of the former case."

*In time of war* "men betrothed and not married, or

newly married, or such as have newly built or planted, and not received the fruits of their labor, and such as are faint hearted men, are not to be pressed or forced against their wills, to go forth to wars.—Deut. 20; 5, 6, 7, 8. and 24; 5. All wickedness to be removed out of the camp, by severe discipline.—Deut. 23; 9, 14. And in war, men of a corrupt and false religion are not to be accepted, much less sought for.—2 Chron. 25; 7, 8. Women, especially such as have not lain by man—little children, and cattle, are to be spared and reserved for spoil—Deut. 20; 14. Some minister to be sent forth to go with the army, for their instruction and encouragement—Deut. 20; 2, 3, 4.”

“Every town was to have judges within themselves, who were empowered, once in each month, or in three months at the farthest, to hear and determine civil as well as criminal causes which were not capital: reserving liberty of appeal to the court of governor and assistants—Deut. 16; 18. In defect of a law in any case, the decision was to be by the word of God.”

An abstract of the laws was published in London, by William Aspinwall in 1641—“Wherein,” says he, “as in a mirror, may be seen the wisdom and perfection of Christ’s kingdom, accommodable to any state or form of government in the world, that is not *antichristian and tyrannical*.” In an address to the reader, he says, “Concerning which model, I dare not pronounce, that it is without imperfection in every particular; yet this I dare be bold to say, that it far surpasseth all the municipal laws and statutes of any of the Gentile nations and corporations under the cope of Heaven.” Laws of a similar nature were adopted in Connecticut, about this time; they were twelve in number, and are inserted in Trumbull’s History, Vol. i. p. 123.

In a community where such laws are deemed necessary, it will not appear strange that victims should be found, on which to execute them. And thus it soon happened in Massachusetts. The year they were printed, Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted for the pretended crime of *witchcraft*; found guilty, and executed. Hubbard says, “she was proved to have so malignant a touch, that if she laid her hands upon man,

woman or child, in anger, they were presently seized with deafness, vomiting, or other sickness, and some violent pains." Soon after the execution, Jones the husband of the unfortunate woman, having engaged a passage to Barbadoes, in a vessel, lying in Charles river, on board of which were eighty horses, the vessel of a sudden commenced a violent rolling, and without any apparent cause was in great danger of oversetting. The credulous court, then in session in Boston, despatched an officer with a warrant to seize Jones, which he effected; on which the vessel, after twelve hours of violent tumbling, ceased her frenzy and became quiescent; but the unfortunate man was committed to prison, to answer for his *crime*.

Among the laws that had been adopted in Massachusetts at this time, none provided for the punishment of the Quakers, a sect that appeared in New England about this time: Professing principles deemed dangerous to religion, several of these people were brought before the court of assistants in Massachusetts, on a charge of heresy—examined, imprisoned and sentenced to banishment. At the session of the general court in October the same year, an act passed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel, who should bring a known Quaker into any part of the colony; and the Quaker was to be immediately sent to the house of correction—whipped twenty stripes, and put to hard labor until transported. For importing and dispersing Quaker books, or defending their opinions, a penalty of five pounds was imposed. The next year an additional law was passed, by which all persons were subjected to a fine of forty shillings, for each hour they should entertain a Quaker; and any one of the sect, on the first conviction, if a male, was to loose an ear, and on a second conviction for the same offence, to loose the other; if a female, to be severely whipped, and for the third offence, whether male or female, the tongue to be bored through with a red hot iron. By a subsequent law a penalty of ten shillings was imposed on every person who should attend on a Quaker meeting, and five pounds, on any who should address the audience.

These laws being found insufficient for crushing the



heresy, the same year another was passed for punishing with death, all Quakers who should return into the jurisdiction of the province, after banishment; and several who presumptuously returned, were apprehended, and suffered the severity of this sanguinary law, at Boston. At length, king Charles the 2d, through the advice of some of the friends of the Quakers in England, put an end to the capital punishments.

Plymouth and Connecticut colonies, though they partook of the persecuting spirit, and were equally tenacious of their religious rites, exhibited a little less violence. But New Haven passed laws which evinced a bigotry little short of that of Massachusetts. A Quaker was not permitted to remain within their jurisdiction, beyond the time limited by a civil magistrate, and when on business by permission, one or more persons were to attend upon him at his own charge, "for the prevention of hurt to the people." The penalties for disobedience were, whipping, imprisonment, labor, and deprivation of converse with all persons; for the second offence, branding in the hand, imprisonment, and hard labor; for the third, the last punishment to be repeated; and for the fourth offence, the tongue to be bored through with a red hot iron, followed by imprisonment. Any person who should bring a known Quaker, or other blasphemous heretic into the province, to forfeit the sum of fifty pounds; and any person who should attempt to defend Quaker sentiments, for the third offence, to be banished.

Application was made to Rhode Island to join in measures to suppress the Quakers; but persecution was not congenial to people who had already experienced its fury. In their answer to the other provinces, they say, "we shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle, on which this colony was first settled." This was, "*that every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God, according to the dictates of his own conscience without molestation.*" A rare instance of liberality, not to be found in any other country at this dark age; and hardly to have been expected among a people who were viewed "as the drain and sink of New England"; and where, "if any man had lost his religion,

he might find it among such a general muster of opinionists."

That the first Quakers who appeared in New England were in some instances, disorderly enthusiasts—disturbors of the peace, highly indecent in their conduct, and totally the reverse of those of the present day, is evident from the histories of the times. But the sanguinary proceedings against them, cannot be justified on any grounds. In cases of breaking of the peace, and when they disturbed the religious worship of others, they justly deserved punishment; but they were not amenable to any earthly tribunal for their religious opinions. Thanks to a more liberal spirit, the result of an enlightened philosophy, *we* are exempted from such burning zeal! Errors in religious sentiments are now to be combated with weapons that inflict no fatal wounds, and enlightened men are convinced that they can render no service to their Maker, by destroying their fellow creatures for errors of opinion.

While the Quakers were suffering the rigid penalties of the laws, the general court of Massachusetts, "lamenting the inefficacy of former declarations, and orders against excess of *apparel*, both of men and women," passed a sumptuary law, which, though it may excite a smile at this day, will not, on reflection, be considered in a high degree reprehensible for a people under their circumstances. By this law, "no person whose visible estate did not exceed the sum of two hundred pounds, should wear any gold or silver lace or gold and silver buttons, or any bone lace, above two shillings per yard, or silk hoods or scarves, under the penalty of ten shillings for every offence." The law authorised and required the selectmen of each town, "to take notice of the apparel of any of the inhabitants, and to assess such persons as they shall judge to exceed their rank and abilities, in the costliness or fashion of their apparel, in any respect, especially in wearing ribbons and great boots, at £200 estates, according to the proportion which such men used to pay, to whom such apparel is suitable and allowed." An exception however was made in favor of "public officers and their families; and of those whose education and employments have been above the ordi-

nary degree, or whose estates have been considerable, though now decayed.”\*

The attention of the New England colonies was now called to a more important subject. A war having commenced between England and Holland in 1652, apprehensions were entertained that hostilities would open between the colonies of the two nations in America. But though a threatening attitude was for some time held out by the Dutch of New Netherlands, and forces were raised by the four New England colonies, the threatened storm subsided without a conflict. The Narragansets, at this time under the sachem Ninnigret, indicated a disposition to join the Dutch, in case of hostilities; and actually held a conference with them at Manhattan, in the winter of 1652, and for some time after refused to treat with the English for a continuation of peace. Under these threatening appearances the commissioners of the colonies met, and resolved to raise two hundred and fifty infantry, and forty cavalry, for the purpose of bringing the Narragansets to terms. Massachusetts was opposed to the measure, and at first declined aiding in the project. But at length, they raised their quota of men, and major Simon Willard, of that colony, in the month of October, led a force into the Narraganset country. Ninnigret with his people, fled to a swamp, about fifteen miles distant; Willard declined a pursuit, and after seizing about one hundred Pequots, who had resided with the Narragansets, since the conquest of their country, returned with his forces. The commissioners in favor of the expedition were dissatisfied with the conduct of major Willard, and charged him with having neglected a fair opportunity of chastising the Indians, by the destruction of their lodges and fields of corn. By many people in Connecticut and New Haven, it was believed that the commander was secretly instructed by the government of Massachusetts, to avoid depredations on the property of the Indians, and thereby prevent a war, which the latter province considered as unnecessary, and inexpedient. Be this as it may, no imputation appears to have been cast upon major Willard by Massachusetts, and his firmness as an officer was not doubted.

\* Massachusetts Laws, quoted by Holmes, Vol. i. p. 355.

After the fruitless expedition under Willard, Ninnigret, who had been at war with the Montauket Indians, on Long Island, continued his depredations on these people and reduced them to great distress. As these Indians were in alliance with the colonies, measures were taken to aid them against Ninnigret. An armed vessel was stationed off Montauk, to watch his movements, and forces prepared at Saybrook and New London, to move on short notice, should the hostile chief again attempt to invade the island. Hostilities however continued some time, and the tribes in various directions exhibited a conduct singularly vascillating. In 1657, some mischief was done at Farmington, in which the Norwootuck and Pocomtuck Indians, were supposed to be accomplices. The Mohegans, under Uncas, also partook of the hostile spirit, and an assault was made by them, upon the Podunk Indians, at Windsor. At length the Long island Indians turned against their friends on the island, and major Mason was ordered with a force for the protection of the English in that quarter.

Before the war terminated, Uncas found himself involved with the Narragansets, by whom he was so pressed, that the English on the Connecticut, found it necessary to send troops to his aid. The Narragansets in several other instances threatened and even plundered the inhabitants of Connecticut.\*

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## CHAPTER V.

The war at length terminating, the English were once more left to pursue the arts of peace. Remote parts of the country, were explored for plantations, which soon extended to the north and west. The White mountains in New Hampshire, had been visited by one Darby Field, with a party from Piscataqua, in 1642, conducted by a few Indians; and with the adjacent country, described in a romantic style. The summit of the mountain was represented to be far above the clouds, and covered with snow throughout the year, presenting a plain of a days

\* Trumbull's Connecticut, Vol. i. p. 231.

journey over, and the country around full of hills, clothed with handsome woods. On the plain, a rude heap of massy stones, were said to be piled, to the height of a mile, accessible only from stone to stone, by a kind of ascending stairs, on the top of which was another level of about the area of an acre, containing a pond of clear water. From this height, the adventurers "beheld a great lake, from which ascended a vapour like a vast pillar drawn up by the sun beams, and forming a cloud.\* Extraordinary minerals, indicating the precious metals, were seen, and others resembling chrystals, from which the mountains were named, the *Chrystal hills*.\* Modern travellers are not alone chargeable with romances.

The country on the Connecticut, above Springfield, was about this time explored, and found to contain favourable positions for plantations. In many places extensive alluvial intervals were seen, bordering the river, and the adjacent lands were found to be of a good quality, covered with excellent timber, and filled with game. Springfield was the upper settlement, and had become a place of some note; and as the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts remained unsettled, it was doubtful to which province it belonged. The tract of country now covered by Suffield, West Springfield and Long Meadow, had been purchased of the natives, by Mr. Pyncheon and company; and in 1642, the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, was run by Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffery, from a point three miles south of Charles river, terminating at the house of a Mr. Bissell, on Connecticut river, in Windsor; by which it was found that Enfield, Suffield and Woodstock, were within the limits of Massachusetts, and that province, in 1670, granted the lands at Suffield to major John Pyncheon and others, as a committee to lay out and plant a township; and soon after it was settled and incorporated with town privileges. The same year Enfield, a township six miles square, was granted to several planters; and in 1681, settled by people from Massachusetts. West Springfield and Long Meadow, were set off from Springfield several years after.

\* Belknap's New Hampshire, 1, 19, where the tour is placed in 1632, which Dr. Holmes concludes is erroneous.

The boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, as marked by Woodward and Saffery, being unsatisfactory to Connecticut, in 1713, commissioners, fully empowered, from the two colonies, agreed on a new line, by which Enfield and Suffield were taken from Massachusetts, and annexed to Connecticut. The whole tract cut off from the former province, was 107,793 acres, which was sold in 1716, for six hundred and eighty three pounds, and the money applied to the use of Yale College.\*

The first planters at Windsor, Hartford and Weathersfield, had obtained the right of settling the lands from the legal owners, but they afterwards paid the Indians for the soil and took deeds, but the Indians generally reserved the right of hunting, cutting timber and planting corn on such tracts as they should choose. Windsor embraced a considerable tract of country on each side of the Connecticut; but the greatest quantity lay on the west side, where the first settlements were made; the place then called Poquannock, by the natives. East Windsor began to be settled in 1680, by families from Poquannock.

The lands at Hartford were purchased of *Sequassen*, the sachem of that place, in 1636, and like Windsor, lay on each side of the river. But the evidence of the purchase being imperfect, a new one was made in 1670. The Dutch fort and trading house, were situated at the confluence of Mill river with the Connecticut, and the land now retains the name of *Dutch Point*.

Owing to hostilities with the Indians in the southerly quarter of Connecticut, the settlement of the lands below Weathersfield, had been retarded, and, with the exception of Saybrook, no town planted prior to 1651. This year several people from Hartford and Weathersfield, began a settlement at *Mattabeseck*, which was afterwards named Middletown, and accessions were soon made to the place, by people from several towns in Massachusetts, and emigrants from England, and the place soon rose into notice.

In 1662, a tract of land was purchased of the natives, extending six miles on each side of Connecticut river,

\* Trumbull's Connecticut, Vol. I. pp. 446, 447.

embracing the present towns of East and West Haddam; the Indian name of the purchase east of the river was *Muchemoodus*. The first settlements were made on the west side of the river, and in 1668, the plantation was vested with town privileges, under the name of Haddam. Several other towns in this quarter of the country were planted about this time. Lyme received settlers in 1664; the eastern part was called *Nehantick*. Symsbury was settled in 1650 and made a town in 1670; its Indian name was *Massacoe*, and at first made a part of Windsor. The first settlements at Wallingford, were made about 1670. Derby, first called *Paugasset*, was made a town in 1675; and about the same time *Pomperaug* was planted by the name of Woodbury. The settlement of Glastenbury was of a more recent date, and it was not made a town until 1690.

In Massachusetts, no settlements had been made on Connecticut river above Springfield, prior to 1653; this year the general court of that province, granted liberty for the settlement of two towns on the extensive bottoms in that part of the country. The next year a number of people began a plantation at *Nonotuck*, which they named Northampton. The township was conveyed to John Pynchon, Esq. in trust for the settlers, by *Waw-hillowa*, and six other Indians, styled the chief and proper owners, for one hundred fathoms of wampumpeag, ten coats, several small presents, and some agricultural labor, to be performed by the grantees. The tract included in the deed, extended from the falls, at South Hadley to what is now Hatfield, and westerly from the Connecticut, about nine miles, embracing nearly 5000 acres of rich alluvial bottom. Accessions of people were soon made; and in 1658, Mr. Mather, from Dorchester, was settled minister of the town, and brought with him several planters from that place. His salary was fixed at eighty pounds sterling, to be paid in wheat, at three shilling and six pence the bushel.\*

About the time of the settlement of Northampton, a number of people from Weathersfield, Hartford and Windsor, proceeded up Connecticut river, and planted themselves at Hadley. Religious contentions which had

\* Dwight's Travels, Letter 34.

sometime prevailed in Connecticut, respecting baptism, were the principal inducement to the emigration of these adventurers. They separated from their churches, but as Hubbard says "orderly and peaceably." Like most of the original towns, Hadley spread over a large tract of country on each side of Connecticut river, embracing the present towns of Hatfield, Sunderland, Whately and South Hadley. A large tract of rich interval was included within the grant, situated principally on three peninsulas, formed by sharp turns of the river; across the isthmus of the centre peninsula, which is the largest, and forms a semi-ellipsis, the village of Hadley was laid out on a perfect plane, about a mile in length, resting its extremities on the river, and forming the only artificial enclosure of between two and three thousand acres. A place so favorably situated for agriculture, was inviting to farmers, and soon became considerably populous. Convenient buildings and a house for public worship were early erected, and Mr. John Russel from Weathersfield, was settled in the ministry. A plantation soon began on the west side of the river, and that part of Hadley was made a town by the name of Hatfield, covering a fine tract of interval land.

The three towns of Springfield, Northampton and Hadley, including Hatfield, on Connecticut river, soon contained a considerable population; and lying without the limits of the counties which had been formed in Massachusetts, they were made a new county, by the name of Hampshire, in 1662, extending from the eastern limits of New York, to the present county of Worcester; and courts were soon after held at Springfield and Northampton. In 1667, settlements were made at *Waranoke*, now Westfield; a trading house had previously been established at that place, by Connecticut people, who claimed the lands by purchase from the natives, as early as 1640.

The present county of Worcester, at this period, had no settlements, excepting at Lancaster, and *Quaboag*, now Brookfield, which last place had received a few plantations from Ipswich in 1660. This tract, six miles square, was granted by the general court, on the condition that twenty families should be resident in the place, within three years, and an able minister settled within



the same term. A deed of the tract was obtained in 1665, from *Shattookquis*, the Indian proprietor, or sachem of the place. The township of Worcester was granted to Daniel Gookin and others, in 1668; but owing to a hostile disposition, which at that time, began to show itself among the natives in the vicinity, settlements did not commence until 1685.

In 1669, a tract of eight thousand acres of land was granted by the general court of Massachusetts, at *Pocumtuck*, now Deerfield, to a company of people at Dedham, embracing the principal part of the interval lying on Pocumtuck, or Deerfield river, and the plain southerly as far as Hatfield north bounds. The first meeting of the proprietors was held at Dedham early in 1670; at which it was agreed to lay out the lots at Pocumtuck. An additional grant was not long after made to the company, by which the boundaries were enlarged to an area equal to seven miles square; and by a subsequent grant, the limits were extended to the west, nine miles, to coincide with the west line of Hatfield and Northampton; and bounded north on the south line of the present town of Bernardston. Besides the present town of Deerfield, the tract comprehended the lands now embraced by Conway, Shelburn, Greenfield and Gill. Whether the whole was purchased of the natives, does not appear. A deed, however, of a part of the early grant, is still extant; it was made to John Pynchon, Esq. of Springfield, "for the use and behoof of major Eleazer Lusher, ensign Daniel Fisher, and other English at Dedham, their associates and successors," by *Chauk*, alias *Chaque*, the sachem of Pocumtuck, and his brother *Wapahoale*, and is dated February 24th 1665, prior to the grant by government. The deed is witnessed by *Wequonock*, who "helped the sachem, in making the bargain," and reserves to the Indians "the right of fishing in the rivers or waters; hunting deer, or other wild animals; the gathering of walnuts, chesnuts and other nuts, and things on the commons." As the additional grants by government, were made after the war with Philip, when the Indians had abandoned this part of the country, it is probable, that no further titles were obtained from them; and they did not afterwards claim the lands.

The first settlement at Deerfield, commenced in 1670, and within four years a considerable number of buildings were erected. In 1686, the Rev. John Williams was settled as minister of the place, on a salary of sixty pounds, to be paid in wheat at three shillings and three pence the bushel, peas at two shillings and sixpence, Indian corn at two shillings, and salted pork at two pence half penny the pound. The same year a tract of land was "granted" by the proprietors to Mr. Brooks, on the *Green river*, within the present town of Greenfield.

The affairs of the plantation, for a few of the first years were managed by a committee appointed for the purpose; John Pynchon, of Springfield, was empowered to act with the committee, and to give them such advice in laying out the lands, as he should judge conducive to the good of the plantation; and he was authorised to vote with the committee when he should be present.\*

In 1672, a township was granted to John Pynchon, Mr. Pearson and other associates, at *Squakheag* now Northfield, on Connecticut river; and the following year a few people from Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield, began a plantation at that place. The township was laid out on both sides of the river, and included an area of six miles by twelve, extending several miles into the present states of New Hampshire and Vermont, including a valuable tract of interval land. The northern boundary of Massachusetts was at this time unknown, but the grant was supposed to be within the limits of the province.†

A deed to William Clark and John King, of North-

\* Extracts from the Early Records of Deerfield.

† No part of the Connecticut presents more extensive intervals than those included in the towns of Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, and Deerfield. They are composed of deep alluvion, intermixed with decayed vegetables, and generally repose on rolled masses of stones or gravel, and much of the adjacent country partakes of that character. Evidence is not wanting to prove, and the opinion is now common among Geologists, that the whole *basin*, bounded on the highlands east and west of the Connecticut, in Massachusetts, extending from the hills in Bernardston and Leyden, to mounts Holyoke and Tom, below Hadley and Northampton, and the chain of hills stretching through Westfield, was, at some remote period, covered by a lake, or expansion of Connecticut river; and that the water has gradually drained off through the southern barrier at South Hadley falls, and the passage of Westfield river, at Feeding-hills. Other similar lakes probably existed below this basin, at Springfield and Long Meadow, and at Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, and Middletown, in Connecticut. Similar lakes, though of less extent, once covered the intervals on the Connecticut above Greenfield.

ampton, agents for the proprietors of Northfield, covering the grant, was made August 13, 1687, by Nawelet, Gongegua, Aspiambelet, Addarawanset, and Meganichcha, Indians of the place, in consideration of "two hundred fathoms of wampum, and fifty seven pounds in trading goods." It was signed with the marks of the grantors, and witnessed by Jonathan Hunt, Preserved Clap, William Clark, Jr. Peter Jethro, Joseph Atherton, and Israel Chauncey.\*

For five or six years previous to this time, the Indians in Massachusetts had maintained a war with the Mohawks, a powerful nation inhabiting the river of that name, in the province of New York, and they had suffered much from their predatory incursions. In one of these, traditional accounts say, the Mohawks attacked a fort of the Pocomtucks, situated on the point of an abrupt hill, about half a mile northeast of the meeting house in Deerfield, and carried it after a severe contest, in which great numbers were slain on both sides. The eminence where the attack is said to have been made, now retains the name of fort hill; and a great variety of rude Indian implements, as well as bones, have there been found, evincing beyond a doubt, that it had long been occupied by the natives, prior to their intercourse with civilized people.

Roused by the repeated incursions of the Mohawks, the Indians of Massachusetts, in the summer of 1669, collected a force consisting of six or seven hundred of their warriors. Chickatawbut, by the English named Joseph, the principal sachem of Massachusetts, who resided at Neponsit, near Boston, was commander, having under him several petty sachems of approved valor. Penetrating the design of the Indians, and knowing the strength of the Mohawks, the English used every means in their power, to dissuade them from the hazardous attempt; but they could not be restrained. The Indians marched with determined resolution; the distance to the nearest fort of the enemy was at least two hundred miles from Boston, and as they were compelled to procure provisions by hunting on the route, the march was tardy,

\* Old copy taken from Northfield Town Book, attested by Eleazar Holton, Town Clerk.

and the Mohawks, receiving intelligence of their approach, prepared to receive them. Chickatawbut at length reached one of the Mohawk forts, and immediately invested it with his whole force. But instead of an immediate assault, by which alone there was a probability of carrying the place, he opened a scattering fire of musketry, with which it appears a part of his men were armed, and thus continued the siege several days; during which the Mohawks made a sortie, and after a severe conflict were beaten back. The ammunition and provisions of the besiegers being nearly expended, and the Mohawks continuing their defence with great resolution, Chickatawbut drew off his forces, and commenced his retreat towards New England. The Mohawks observing his movements, left their fort, and by a detour, gained the front of their enemy, and planted an ambuscade at a defile formed by a thick set swamp, where they made a sudden and unexpected attack on their retreating foes. The battle was furious and bloody; the New England Indians, rushing into the thickets, fought desperately, but were finally beaten with the loss of about fifty, including many of their chiefs, among whom was Chickatawbut, the commander. Night coming on, the Mohawks returned to their fort, and left their enemy to continue their route home, where they at length arrived, much depressed at their ill success.

The disastrous termination of this expedition, proved an effectual check to further attempts of the New England Indians, to disturb the powerful confederation, since styled the six nations. In the course of two years from the disaster, a peace was concluded between the hostile Indians, through the mediation of some of the principal men in Massachusetts, and captain Salisbury, commander of the New York forces at Albany, then under the government of England, by whom the province had been conquered from the Dutch.

A brief history of an interesting event, connected with the early settlements in New England, and particularly those on the Connecticut river, in Massachusetts, will not, it is believed, be misplaced at the close of this chapter.

Immediately after the restoration of king Charles the

2d. to the throne of England, in 1660, a number of the judges who sat on the trial of king Charles the 1st, were seized, tried, and condemned at the Old Bailey, and promptly executed. Others foreseeing their fate, fled from the realm before the king was proclaimed; two of those regicides, as they were termed, colonel Edward Whalley and William Goffe, sailed for New England, and arrived at Boston, July, 1660. Whalley had served as a lieutenant general, and Goffe as a major general in Cromwell's army; both had distinguished themselves in various battles, as well as many other important transactions in that period of political convulsion, and they had been much in the confidence of the lord Protector. Both were commissioners appointed for the trial of the king, and both signed the warrant for his execution; they had therefore little expectation of escaping the rigid punishment for treason, should they fall into the hands of the English government. Goffe had married a daughter of Whalley, and was not less attached to his father-in-law, from principle, than from his family connection.

At Boston, they were courteously received by governor Endicott, and the principal gentlemen of the town; and though they did not secrete themselves, they chose a more retired place, and resided some time at Cambridge. In the mean time they visited many of the adjacent towns, were openly seen at public worship, and at other public places, and appear to have been much esteemed by the people. On learning that several of the regicides had been condemned and executed in England, and that Whalley and Goffe were not included in the act of pardon, the people at Boston, who had harbored them, began to be alarmed. The governor assembled a court of assistants, to consult upon measures for the apprehension of the judges; but a majority would not consent to the measure, and several even declared that they would protect them at all hazards. Finding themselves unsafe at Cambridge, and being advised by their friends to remove, the judges left the place, and proceeded to Hartford, in Connecticut, and thence to New Haven, where they arrived the 7th of March, 1661, and took lodging at the house of the Rev. Mr. Davenport. Here they were treated with marked attention by the leading people, not

only as men of great minds, but of unfeigned piety and religion; and finding themselves among such friends, they flattered themselves that they were out of danger.

It was soon known in England, that the two judges had landed at Boston, and the king's proclamation was afterwards received there, requiring that they should be apprehended. The governor of Massachusetts accordingly issued his warrant for this purpose, and a slight search was made through the towns in the province, and particularly at Springfield, and others on Connecticut river, but the judges had previously left the province, and were secure among their friends at New Haven.

Sometime after, the governor of Massachusetts received a royal mandate, requiring him to apprehend the regicides, accompanied by some intimations that their friendly reception at Boston had been noticed. This produced an alarm, and a more thorough search was made through the towns; Hadley at this time, is said to have been examined by officers sent on the service, but without very nice scrutiny.

In the mean time the judges, secretly apprised of the measures taken for their apprehension, removed to Milford, where they appeared openly in the day time, but at night often returned to New Haven, and were secreted at Mr. Davenport's. At length two English merchants, Kellond and Kirk, both zealous royalists, were commissioned to go through the colonies as far as Manhattan, in search of the regicides. Seasonably informed of the plan to apprehend them, the harrassed judges removed from Mr. Davenport's, and secreted themselves in various places about New Haven; first at a mill, then in the woods, and at last in a singular natural cave, on *west rock*, where they continued sometime, and were provided with subsistence by their friends. During this time, Kellond and Kirk arrived at New Haven, and with the reluctant aid of the officers of government, made search for the judges, but without effect. They then passed on to Manhattan, and gaining no information of the objects of their pursuit, returned to Boston, and made report of their proceedings, in which the magistrates at New Haven were represented as friendly to the judges, and had used secret means to prevent their apprehension. Mr.

Davenport, and lieutenant governor Leet, were implicated in the affair, and some apprehensions were entertained for their safety, as well as some others in the secret. Informed of this, the judges offered to surrender themselves rather than expose their friends to punishment, and they actually appeared openly at New Haven. But through the advice of friends, they changed their determination, and again retired to their cave, and other secluded places in the vicinity, and were seen occasionally by a few persons in whom they could confide.

During this seclusion in the cave, on West rock, to their fears of apprehension, was added that of the Indians, and ferocious animals. One night as they lay in their hard couch, a huge catamount, with blazing eyes, and furious grin, thrust his head into the aperture of the rock, giving a horrible growl, but departed without injury to the trembling judges. At another time during their absence from the cave, a party of Indians on a hunting excursion, accidentally discovered the cave, and the couch on which the unfortunate exiles lodged; this being reported by the Indians, it was deemed dangerous longer to continue in the place, and they abandoned it for another more secluded.

In 1664, several commissioners arrived at Boston, on business relating to the colonies, and as they were instructed by king Charles, to make inquiry for the two regicides, and as the places of the seclusion of these harassed men were now known to many at New Haven, they resolved to remove to some distant part of the country. The reverend Mr. Russel, of Hadley, was sounded relating to their seclusion, and he consented to receive them into his house; and after a dreary pilgrimage of three years and seven months, at and about New Haven, they, on the 13th of October 1664, sat out for Hadley. Travelling in the night only, probably with a guide, they eluded discovery, and arrived at Mr. Russel's hospitable mansion, after a tedious march of about one hundred miles.

The house of the friendly clergyman, situated on the east side of the main street, near the centre of the village, was of two stories, with a kitchen attached, and ingeniously fitted up for the reception of the judges. The

east chamber was assigned for their residence, from which a door opened into a closet, back of the chimney, and a secret trap door communicated with an under closet, from which was a private passage to the cellar, into which it was easy to descend, in case of a search.

Here, unknown to the people of Hadley, excepting to a few confidants, and the family of Mr. Russel, the judges remained fifteen or sixteen years, secluded from the world, constantly exposed to discovery, from some unfaithful person, or from some unfortunate circumstance, in which case, an ignominious death was inevitable. And when it is known that Hadley became the head quarters of the army, employed for the defence of the towns on Connecticut river, in the war with Philip, in 1675 and 1676, while the judges were in the place—soldiers billeted on the inhabitants, and vigilant officers quartered in the village, the non-discovery of the exiles is truly astonishing; and evinces that the faithful minister possessed resources of art far beyond most men. It is not known for certainty, that any more than one gentleman of the village, besides Mr. Russel's family, was in the dangerous secret of the judges concealment; this was Peter Tilton, Esq. whose mansion house stood on the same side of the street with Mr. Russel's, about half the distance towards the south end of the village; and here the judges are said to have occasionally resided. A Mr. Smith, who resided on the same side of the village towards its northern extremity, is also said to have been in the secret; and to have occasionally admitted the exiles to his house.

Mr. Tilton was a magistrate and a man of note, in this part of the country—much employed in public business, and often member of the general court from Hadley. As he was frequently at Boston, attending his official duties, donations to the judges, were made through his hands with safety. Richard Saltonstal, who was in the secret, on his departure for England in 1672, sent them fifty pounds. They received donations also from others, and their wives remitted them money from England, through their secret friends, for whom Tilton was the trusty agent.

During his residence at Hadley, ~~Gov. Saltonstal~~ ~~Gov. Saltonstal~~



pondence with his wife in England, under the the feigned name of Walter Goldsmith; but his letters were written so enigmatically, that none but an intimate acquaintance could fully comprehend them. By one of the letters, dated April 2d, 1679, it appears that Whalley had deceased sometime previously, at Mr. Russel's. Various accounts are given concerning the interment of his body; but it is now ascertained that it was buried in a sort of tomb, formed of mason work, and covered with flags of hewn stone, just without the cellar wall of Russel's house; where his bones have been recently found, by a Mr. Gaylord, who built a house on the spot, where Russel's was standing, as late as 1794.

Not long after the decease of Whalley, Goffe left Hadley, and travelled to the southward, and no certain information of him has been obtained. Vague rumours however say that he went to Manhattan, or New York, where he tarried sometime in disguise, and supported himself by conveying vegetables to market—where or when he died is unknown. The story of his residence at Petequamscot, in Rhode Island, and of his death and burial at West Greenwich, is put at rest by Dr. Stiles, in his "History of the Judges." Some further notice of Goffe will be given in the details of Philip's war.

Not long after the two judges came to Hadley, colonel John Dixwell, another of the judges joined them at Mr. Russels, where he resided some time; but departing from that place, and wandering about the country, he at length settled down at New Haven, under the assumed name of Davids, where he married, and had several children. His real name and character were not made known to the public until his death, which happened in 1689; nor was it known in England that he had fled to America. He was buried at New Haven, and his grave stone marked with his initials, J. D. Esq. "deceased March 18, in the 82d year of his age—1688-9," is often visited as a curiosity. President Stiles has attempted to shew that the three judges were buried at New Haven, and conjectures that he has found their grave stones.\*

The story of the judges was first given to the world in

\* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. i. Stile's History of the Judges. Dwight's Travels, Vol. i. Letter 35.

1764, by governor Hutchinson, who obtained it from manuscripts found among the papers of the Mather family of Boston; by whom they are supposed to have been procured from the descendants of Mr Russel. Its development during the lives of the actors in the scene, would have exposed them to imminent danger, and perhaps have cost them their lives. Among the papers procured by Hutchinson, was a journal kept by Goffe, from the time he left England, to the year 1667; this and other papers relating to the judges, are supposed to have been destroyed at the time the governor's house was rifled by the mob in Boston in 1765.

Of the motives and conduct of the enemies of king Charles, 1st, different opinions are entertained by different men, some justifying while others condemn the whole proceedings. Those who hold to the doctrine that "kings can do no wrong," will embrace the latter. President Stiles, at the close of his History of the judges, attempts a vindication of their conduct, and considers them as friends of true liberty. In summing up his observations, he says "The intrepid judges of Charles, 1st, will hereafter go down to posterity with increasing renown, among the Jephthas, the Baracks, the Gideons, and the Washingtons, and others raised up by providence for great and momentous occasions: whose memories, with those of all the other successful and unsuccessful, but intrepid and patriotic defenders of real liberty, will be selected in history, and contemplated with equal, impartial and merited justice; and whose names and achievements, and sufferings will be transmitted with honor, renown and glory, through all the ages of liberty and man."

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## CHAPTER VI.

WHILE the settlements on the lower part of Connecticut river, had been retarded by the various wars with the powerful Indians, in the southeast quarter of New England, those in Massachusetts, met with no serious embarrassments. In the course of about fifty years from the first landing of the pilgrims, they had extended more

than one hundred miles to the west, and about the same distance up Connecticut river. But the period was now approaching, when all the frontier plantations were to feel the vengeance of Indian resentment; and to meet with an effectual bar to further progress into the interior.

Metacom, by the English named Philip, the sachem of the Wampanoags, a courageous warrior, residing at Mount Hope, now Bristol, in Rhode Island, a son of the famous Massassoit, who had so long been the faithful friend of the English, endowed with a foresight, not common to the natives, had for sometime beheld the rapid progress of the English settlements, which he perceived must eventuate in the total loss of his territory, and in the extinction of the natives. This warrior therefore, determined to make a grand effort against the impending ruin; and for several years made secret exertions to unite the numerous tribes, with a view of extirpating the English from New England.

To cover his designs, he held out pretences of friendship, and in 1662, he visited the English at Plymouth, and solicited a continuance of amity; promising for himself and successors, to continue subjects of the king of England. In 1671, pretending that some damage had been done to his planting grounds, he threatened immediate war; but on a formal inquiry into the complaint, by the English at Plymouth, he acknowledged that his provocations were groundless, and subscribed an instrument of submission.

By these illusive means, he allayed the suspicions of the English, and in the mean time secretly ripened his plans, for a simultaneous attack by all his allies. At length Philip's plans were divulged to the English, by Sausaman, a friendly Indian, who, for this act, was soon after murdered by some of Philip's Indians. Three of the perpetrators, one a counsellor of the chief, were seized—tried before a court at Plymouth—condemned and executed. At the trial, an Indian testified that he saw the murder of Sausaman, who was fishing through the ice of a pond, knocked down by three Indians belonging to the Wompanoags, and plunged under the ice. The body being taken out of the pond, exhibited the wound upon the head. Philip was charged with aiding in the

murder; and as he made no efforts to exculpate himself, it was believed by the English, that he was guilty. His deceptive measures were no longer held out, and he resolved on immediate war.

Before we enter upon the details of the bloody struggle which ensued, it is important to notice the strength of the English in New England, and the condition of the Indian tribes in the vicinity of the settlements.

From the first planting of Massachusetts, up to the year 1637, according to Dr. Holmes, the number of ships, employed in transporting emigrants to New England, was estimated at two hundred and ninety eight, and the number of men, women and children brought over, was twenty one thousand two hundred; other accounts make the number much less. In 1640, in consequence of a change of affairs in England, emigration to New England, nearly subsided, and for several succeeding years, the number in the colonies rather decreased, by the return of many of the settlers to their native country.

In 1673, the whole number of inhabitants, in New England, was estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms; Boston at this time contained fifteen hundred families. The militia of Connecticut, amounted to two thousand and seventy; one quarter of which were mounted dragoons. In Massachusetts, in 1675, were twelve troops of cavalry, each consisting of sixty men, exclusive of officers; all mounted and armed with swords, carbines and pistols—shielded by a kind of cuirass, and dressed in buff coats. In time of peace, the officers had an allowance from government; for expences on training days; in actual service, the monthly pay of a captain was £6; that of the foot, £4; and the privates, one shilling per day. Bold, hardy and enterprising, though little versed in regular warfare, the troops were well qualified for military service in the woods; and with the advantages derived from their fire arms, they did not decline a contest with superior numerical forces. Cannon were of little service, excepting in the defence of the few temporary fortifications, erected at the most exposed places. And indeed they were seldom used in the field; for it was difficult, if not impossible, to transport them with the requi-

site celerity, through trackless forests and morasses; over hills, mountains and rivers, particularly when incumbered, as the men were, with their provisions upon their backs.

The Indians at this time, though much reduced below their former numbers, presented a formidable force extending over a large tract of country; but generally seated in collected lodges, on the banks of rivers, or borders of small lakes. Originally they were divided into five principal nations, viz. The Pequots, Narragansets, Pawkunnawkuts, Massachusetts and Pawtuckets. According to Gookin, who wrote "Historical Sketches" of these nations in 1674, their numbers and situation were as follows.

1. The Pequots were seated in the southerly part of New England, within the present bounds of Connecticut; about forty years ago, they were a warlike people, and their sachem held dominion over several petty sagamores; as those of Long island, the Mohegans, Quinipiacks, and some of the Nipmucks about Quinaboag. The principal sachem resided at, or about Pequot harbor, and once could raise four thousand warriors; but at this time reduced to about three hundred fighting men, subject to the English, by whom they were conquered in 1638.

- 2 The Narragansets spread over the principal part of the territory, now comprehended by the state of Rhode Island, including the islands in the bay. Their south west bounds was four or five miles east of Paucatuk river, joining on the country of the Pequots; their sachem had under his control, part of the Indians of Long island, those of Block island, Cawesit, the Nianticks, and part of the Nipmucks; and their numbers were formidable. They were once able to raise about five thousand warriors. Roger Williams says their country was so populous, that the traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns, in twenty miles; and in 1674, the whole number did not exceed one thousand. The principal seat of the sachem, was on Conanicut island, but he occasionally resided on the main about the bay. The country of the Narragansets was peculiarly adapted to the Indian mode of life; the waters afforded great facilities for canoe navigation; and, as the lands were generally fertile, and fish plenty, the natives were exempted from those wants,

which were common to those of less favored regions, and they enjoyed a degree of happiness little short of civilized life.

3. The Pawkunawkuts, or Pokanokets, sometimes called Wampanoags. The territory of this nation extended over the principal part of the colony of Plymouth, bounding west on the Narragansets, and north on the Massachusetts. The tribes tributary to these people, were those upon the islands of Nantucket and Capewick—the Nawsetts, Sawkattuckets, Nabsquassets, Matakees, part of the Nipmucks, and several other tribes. This nation was potent in former times, and according to the most authentic accounts, could raise three thousand warriors. When the English landed at Plymouth, the chief sachem was Masassoit whose seat was at Pokanoket, at, or near Mount Hope, in Bristol, afterwards the residence of his son, the famous Philip.

A few years prior to the arrival of the English, great numbers of this nation were swept off by a fatal sickness, said to be epidemical. Gookin states that the Indians informed him, that “those who had the disease were of the color of a yellow garment” and it was so destructive, that many lodges were almost depopulated. Two gentlemen of Plymouth, who made a visit to Masassoit at Pokanoket, in 1621, traversing the country on Taunton river, found fine fields formerly planted with corn, and excellent open tracts that were entirely destitute of inhabitants; and in many places, the skulls and other bones of those who had died of the disease, were seen in great quantities, scattered over the surface.\*

4. The Massachusetts nation: These were scattered about the bay of that name, and their territory spread from the Pokanokets, on the south, to the Pawtuckets on the north, and their chief sachem held dominion over the Wechagaskas, Neponsetts, Punkapaogs, Nonantums, Nashaways, part of the Nipmucks, and the Pocumtucks at Deerfield, on Connecticut river. In former times this nation could arm about three thousand men; but suffering a great loss by the fatal sickness, so destructive to the

\* Was this the fatal disease now denominated yellow fever?—If so, was it imported from the West Indies by the trading ships; or did it originate in the country?

Pokanoket nation, they did not in 1674, much exceed three hundred of all descriptions.

5. The Pawtuckets, extended from the Massachusetts nation, as far as the limits of Massachusetts province. Under their dominion, were the Pennakooks, Aggawams, Naumkeiks, Piscataquas, Accomentas, and some other tribes. Once their number was about three thousand; but like the two last mentioned nations, they were very much diminished by the fatal epidemic that has been mentioned, and in 1674, but about two hundred and fifty warriors remained.

The Indians northward of Piscataqua river, and west of the Connecticut, are not included in the account of Gookins. But from others, it appears that the natives northerly of the former river, including the territory, now Main, were called Abenequas, or Tarrateens. These were divided into many tribes, both on the sea coast, and the interior country. By the French, the eastern Indians were called Etechemins; and whether the tribes were any way united does not appear. To the west of Connecticut river, extending a short distance west of the Hudson, and into the present state of Vermont, was a nation called Mohicans, or Muhheakunnucks; their chief seat was at Albany, called by them Pempotawuthut, or the place of fire; the Stockbridge tribe belonged to this nation. Muhhaakunnuk, in their language is said to signify a great water, or sea, that is constantly in motion, either flowing or ebbing; and these Indians state that they came from a country far to the west, where they lived in towns, by the side of a great water or sea; and were very numerous until compelled to scatter, by reason of a great famine.\* Westward of this people, was the powerful confederacy of the five nations, with which the New England people had no intercourse, excepting with the Mowhaws, residing on the river of that name in the province of New York.

In Connecticut, according to Dr. Trumbull, the Indians were more numerous, in proportion to the extent of country, than in other parts of New England. From accounts handed down, he estimates them from twelve thousand to sixteen thousand, as the minimum, and twenty thou-

\* Massachusetts Hist. Collection, Vol. ix, p. 99—old series.

sand as the maximum of their former population. On Connecticut river, alone, he says, four thousand warriors might be raised, the principal part within the towns of Middletown, Weathersfield, Hartford and Windsor; and in 1670, their bowmen were reckoned at two thousand. In Middletown was the seat of Sowheag, the sachem of the Indians at that place, and those at Weathersfield. At Chatham, East Haddam and Lyme, were seated the Wongung, Machemoodus, and western Nehanticks, and in East Windsor, near the south line, resided the Podunks, who at the commencement of Philip's war, consisted of two or three hundred, most of whom joined his forces; at East Hartford was the Hoccanum tribe.\*

On Connecticut river, in Massachusetts, were several tribes. The Aggawams at Springfield, Nonaticks at Northampton, Pocumtucks at Deerfield, and Squakheags at Northfield; all of which were sometimes designated by the general name of Pocumtucks.—At Westfield was a tribe called Waranokes. Several tribes were seated within the county of Worcester, in Massachusetts; of these the Qinaboags at Brookfield, the Nashuas at Lancaster, and the Nipmucks in the southwest quarter of the county, extending into Connecticut, were the most noted.

On Connecticut river, between New Hampshire and Vermont, probably were a few tribes, whose names are not given by early historians. At Coos, a considerable tribe is said to have occasionally resided; but few permanent lodges were known to the English within the limits of the present state of Vermont.

Prior to their intercourse with Europeans, the weapons of the Indians, were bows and arrows, clubs, tomahawks and spears of wood, curiously wrought with stones, shells or other sharply pointed implements. The tomahawks, spears and arrows, were generally edged with stones, bones or other materials that could be shaped to an acute point. For the defence of their persons, they had targets, fabricated of the bark of trees, and other flexible substances. The bark of the small shrub called *moos wood*, which was plentifully found in the woods, furnished excellent cordage, and a sort of wild hemp was used for the same

\* History of Connecticut, Vol. i. p. 40.



purpose. After they began to traffic with the Europeans, their rude weapons were laid aside for those of iron, or other metals; and before the commencement of the war with Philip, though the trade was strictly restrained by the government of the provinces, the Indians had obtained many fire arms, and used them with dexterity.

In the construction of their canoes, which were of the highest importance in many of their expeditions, as well as their ordinary business, they were singularly curious; these were fabricated from the bark of certain trees, generally of the white birch, or hallowed out of the trunks of soft timber, by burning and scraping with their rude implements. The former, though they required skill in the workman, were not so difficult in their construction, as the log canoe; they were ingeniously shaped and curiously sewed together with roots, and besmeared with gums of various trees to render them tight, and strengthened within with ribs, or transverse pieces. A bark of this kind, sufficient for the transportation of five or six Indians, was portable on the back of a single man; and in this manner they were carried with facility over the portages between rivers and lakes.

The construction of the log canoe, required much labor as well as patience and perseverance. A large tree was to be felled and hollowed out by fire, or by their imperfect tools, or with both united. Roger Williams, who had many opportunities of observing their modes of construction, says, "I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn, and stones to strike fire; when he had felled his tree, and made a little house or shed of bark, he puts fire and follows the burning in many places; his corn he boils, and hath his brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so he continues his burning and hewing, until he hath, within ten or twelve days, finished his boat"\*

The food of the natives, was principally obtained from the game and fish, with which the country abounded. But they cultivated in the intervals, considerable quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes; the forest furnished a great variety of nuts and other fruits, which, in the sale of their lands to the English, they generally

\* Key to the Indian Language. *Collect. Massachusetts Hist. Society.*

reserved for their own use. Indian corn was an important article; this after being parched and pounded to a coarse meal, and moistened with water, was called *noke-hick*, and eaten on all occasions, when animal food could not be procured, or expedition forbid the time necessary for more protracted cookery. On all excursions, parched corn was carried in small baskets, or sacks, and was a sure preservative against famine.

Various were their devices for taking their large game. One was the constructing of slight fences of brush, in two lines, wide at one extremity and converging at a point at the other, where was a narrow opening. Here the huntsman placed himself, under some cover, and shot the game as it passed through. Sometimes a curious kind of trap was contrived at the opening, by bending down a flexible staddle, to which was attached a snare for seizing the animal. When caught in this trap, his struggles disengaged the staddle, and suspended him in the air. A mare, belonging to one of the early settlers, straying in the woods, was caught in one of these traps and raised into the air; the Indians discovered her, and observing the shoes upon her feet, at once concluded that she belonged to the English, and running with great rapidity, told them their *squaw-horse* was hanging to a tree.

Fish were an important article of food, and were taken with nets, hooks and long spears. With the latter they supplied themselves with shad and salmon in abundance, as they ascended the cataracts of the rivers, in the spring season. The contrivance was the following: The extremity of the horn of a deer or other animal, having a cavity at one end, and sharply pointed at the other, was loosely placed upon the end of the spear; a cord attached to the horn was stretched along the shaft, and held in the hand that directed the stroke. On plunging the point into the fish, the spear was drawn a little back, and the horn slipping off, turned across the perforation, and the fish was drawn from the water.

The skill with which the Indians directed their course in the pathless forests, as well as their perseverance and rapidity, were astonishing. "I have," says Roger Williams, "known many of them run between four score and a hundred miles, in a summer's day, and back within

two," In travelling, "I have been guided by them, twenty, thirty, and forty miles, through the woods on a straight course, out of any path. When the English first came to this country," adds he, "it was admirable to see what paths their naked feet had made in the wilderness, in the most stony and rocky places."\*

For their apparel, the Indians were indebted to the moose, deer, bear, beaver, otter, fox, racoon, and some other animals. The skin of the deer was an important material : these when dressed, furnished a pliable cover, and were much worn. But their clothing was but imperfectly fitted to their bodies, and some parts were left uncovered. After the arrival of the English, the natives very readily exchanged their fur dresses for woollen blankets, and other clothes of European manufacture, and in this change the English found a profitable trade.

For travelling in cold seasons, they wore a rude kind of shoe, called a *mockason*, which was fabricated from moose and deer skins, gathered to shape the feet, by sinews of animals ; but they were a poor defence for the feet in wet weather. In travelling in deep snows, they had recourse to *snow shoes* or *rackets*. A light flexible peice of walnut or other wood, was bent into an elliptical form, terminating in a point behind ; two light peices of wood extended across the shoe, for the purpose of strengthening the bow, affording also a rest for the foot, and the whole space included within the bow, was interlaced with thongs of deer or moose hide, in a reticulated manner. The foot resting upon the cross bars, was lashed so as to confine it to the shoe. Owing to its elasticity, the strides of the traveller were much greater than those usually made on a firm surface without them. Habituated from their youth to this mode of travelling, the Indians were dexterous in the use of the snow shoe, and in the depth of winter, performed marches truly astonishing.

In their winter expeditions, their *bivouac* or night camp, was in a swamp, or other thick wood, where they were shielded from the winds and storms. Usually the snow was cleared away, and their fires kindled upon the earth, around which, boughs of ever greens, such as hemlock and fir, were spread upon the sloping sides of the

\* Key to the Indian Language.

excavation. Upon these boughs, wrapped in their skins, or blankets, they passed the coldest nights, without suffering any inconvenience. In many cases they dispensed with their fires, and lay upon the snow with no covering except their furred robes, and not unfrequently in the morning, found themselves covered with a new supply, fallen in the night, and in this manner it is said they reposed very comfortably.

At the commencement of Philip's war, a number of the Indians in Massachusetts and Plymouth, had ostensibly embraced the Christian religion; and some had been taught, by missionaries, to read and write. These had obtained the name of *praying Indians*, and were seated at the following places: Natick, Punkepaog, (Stoughton,) Hassanamesit, (Grafton,) Okommakamesit, (Marlborough,) Wamesit, (Tewksbury,) Nashobah, (Littleton,) and Magunkaquog, (Hopkinton.) In the Nipmuck country, were the following lodges of praying Indians: Manchage, (Oxford) Chabanakongkomun, (Dudley) Maa-nexit, (northeast part of Woodstock,) Quantisset, (south east part of Woodstock,) Wabaquissit, (south west corner of Woodstock,) Pakachoog, (part of Worcester) Wacumtung, (Uxbridge.)

The whole number of souls in these lodges, were reckoned at about eleven hundred. In Plymouth, at this time, there were about four hundred and ninety seven praying Indians, and several of the neighboring islands also contained a considerable number of these people.\* Fortunately for the English, nearly the whole of these people were kept in a state of neutrality during the war with Philip, through the influence of the visiting missionaries.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE discovery of the projects of Philip, by Sausaman, as has been related in the preceding chapter, was most unfortunate for the chief. He intended that the whole of his allies should have taken the field at once, and made

\* Gookin's Historical Collections, inserted in Vol. i. of the Massachusetts Historical Collections. See also Holmes, Vol. i. p. 419.

a simultaneous attack on the English settlements. The tribes engaged, besides his Wompanoags, were the Nipmucks, those on Connecticut river above Windsor, and those about Plymouth; the Narragansets had engaged to furnish a large force; but as they were not fully prepared for the war, they still held out friendly pretences, and attempted to disguise their hostile preparations.

Unfortunately for the English, many of the Indians had at this time furnished themselves with fire arms, but they had but a scanty supply of ammunition. The sale of these articles, though strictly forbidden, was clandestinely carried on, and furs obtained in exchange. Probably some were procured from the Dutch and French colonists; but it is supposed that the greatest supply was obtained from baron Castine, a Frenchman, who had seated himself on the Penobscot, and opened a trade with the natives. He was a nobleman of distinction, a colonel in the king's body guards, and a man of intrigue and enterprise; and had formed an alliance with the savages in that part of the country, in order, it is supposed, to break up the English settlements at Massachusetts, Plymouth, and other parts of New England. To promote his designs, he married, and had living with him at one time, six Indian wives, besides several Roman Catholic priests, at his palace on the east side of the Penobscot, in the present town of Castine. By the aid of these priests, and the efforts of his own genius, he acquired great influence over the natives, and not only furnished, but taught them the use of fire arms. He commenced his projects through the Penobscot tribe, about the year 1661, and such was his success, that at the commencement of Philip's war, the knowledge of gun powder and fire arms, was universally extended among the savages in the northern part of New England.

The baron was considered as the most dangerous enemy the English had met with; and they, at various times, attempted to capture him; but, though his fortress was taken and plundered, he escaped to the wilderness. He lived to the year 1697, and then left a number of sons, relations by blood, to the Penobscot tribe.\*

Whether the baron was sent out by the French gov-

\* Sullivan's account of the Penobscots.—*Historical Collections*, Vol. ix. p. 218.

ernment, to unite the tribes against the English, for the purpose of regaining possession of the country they had named Acadie, from which they had been driven by captain Argal, in 1613, or whether he and Philip acted in concert, is not certainly known; both, however are probable.

The circumstances of the English colonists, on the discovery of Philip's designs, were critical. They had to contend with a force united under a chief, bold, daring, and enterprising, who was determined to extirpate his enemy or fall in the attempt. A force so powerful, they had never seen combined against them, and the issue of the struggle could not be foreseen. A gloom was spread over the settlements, and they had no alternative but to breast the storm, or abandon the country.

The bloody scene opened in the colony of Plymouth, June 24th, 1675, not far from mount Hope. Having sent their wives and children, to the Narragansets for safety, a party of the Wampanoags advanced to Swanzey, then *Mattapoiset*, where they menaced the people, and proceeded to rifle their houses, and even to kill the cattle. An Indian was shot—the party then rushed forward and slew eight or nine of the inhabitants. Intelligence of the affair immediately spread over Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, and a company of horse under captain Thomas Prentice, and two of infantry under captains Daniel Henchman and Samuel Mosely, from Massachusetts, marched, and formed a junction on the 28th of June, at Swanzey, with the Plymouth forces under captain Cudworth. Several skirmishes soon succeeded, in which a few were killed on both sides. Philip, about this time left mount Hope, and abandoned his country to the English.

Soon after, major Thomas Savage arrived at Swanzey with supplies of provisions, and a reinforcement of men, and took the command of the Massachusetts forces at that place. The next day, the whole body marched for mount Hope, traversing abandoned cornfields, and deserted lodges, and at length reached that place, but the enemy had fled. Prentice's dragoons reconnoitring a few miles distant, discovered and engaged a small party of the enemy, on a plain, and killed four or five, two of whom were

Philip's principal men. Finding the enemy had fled from mount Hope, Savage returned with his force to Swanzezy.

After several days of fruitless search for the enemy, orders were received from Boston, directing the army to march into the Narraganset country and renew the treaty with the sachems who were supposed to be hostile, and in case of refusal, to force them to terms. Part of the troops accordingly proceeded on the expedition, and after two or three days spent in negotiation, the sachems agreed on terms, by which they bound themselves to oppose Philip as far as was in their power, and to continue in friendship with the English, by whom they were offered a handsome reward for the delivery of Philip, dead or alive. The treaty was signed by commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and four Indians acting as counsellors and attorneys to six principal sachems.

During these operations, lieutenant Benjamin Church, with a small party, penetrating the country about Pocasset neck, found the enemy, and engaged their small detached parties. Not long after, Church and Captain Fuller, with fifty men, penetrated the same quarter, in search of the enemy. Separating their force, they marched in different directions; Fuller took a position on the shore of Rhode Island bay, where being attacked by superior numbers, he was in danger of being destroyed, but at length was brought off by a Rhode Island sloop. Church in the mean time, penetrated Pocasset neck, and meeting a large body of the enemy, was compelled to fall back to the bay, where he was vigorously attacked, and maintained a contest several hours, with great resolution, against a force of treble his number; at length he was brought off by a sloop under captain Golding.

Church soon after joined a body of English forces, and again penetrated Pocasset, and renewed his skirmishes with the enemy, in one of which he killed fourteen or fifteen. The main body of the English, not long after, arrived at the place, on which Philip retired into the recesses of swamps, followed by his enemy, and several skirmishes took place. Night approaching, the English fell back; and the next day, leaving captain Henschman and one hundred infantry with the Plymouth forces, to

watch the movements of the enemy, the main body returned to Boston.

The neck of land on which Philip was now penned up was about seven miles in length, a great part covered by a thick and almost impenetrable swamp, and an attack was exceedingly difficult and dangerous; the English therefore resolved to starve him out, and for this purpose they began a fort, and kept a vigilant eye upon his movements. Philip was not inattentive to the plan of his enemy, and he readily perceived that an attempt to maintain his position would be destruction. Ready in resources, he contrived means to relieve himself; seizing the advantage which the darkness of night presented, he constructed rafts of timber—crossed the arm of the sea extending up towards Taunton river, and eluding his enemy, crossed and fled towards the Nipmucks, who stood ready to receive him. About one hundred women and children left on the neck, were taken by the English.\*

Philip's escape was discovered the next morning, by some people at Rehoboth, by the trail he had made through the woods, and a party from that place, joined by some Mohegan Indians, commenced a pursuit, and coming up with him in the night, attacked and took about thirty of his men. Captain Henshaw with a small force, proceeded by water to Providence, near which he struck Philip's trail, and also commenced a pursuit, but did not come up until the attack of the Rehoboth party was over. He however, the next day, with the Mohegans, continued the pursuit, and pressed on until his provisions were nearly expended, but was not able to come up with the wily chief. The Mohegans soon returned to their country, and Henshaw led his troops to Boston.

Not long after the escape of Philip from Pocasset, a party of his allies made an attack on Mendon, and killed five or six people at their labor in the field. Captain Prentice's dragoons were immediately despatched to the place, but they were not able to come in contact with the enemy. About the same time depredations were committed at Middleborough and Dartmouth, in Plymouth colony.

The flames of war about this time began to rage among

\* According to some accounts, Philip forded the arm at ebb tide.



the Nipmucks to the westward. At Lancaster, a man and his wife were killed on Lord's day, the 22d of August; and a lad tending sheep at Marlborough, was fired upon by the Indians. Captain Mosely with a party of cavalry from Boston, was ordered to Brookfield, where a few troops had been stationed, and the country in that quarter was scoured in various directions, but no affair of consequence took place; several Indians were however taken on suspicion and carried to Boston, but on trial acquitted. Not long after this expedition, Mosely was ordered to reconnoitre the country about Hadley, on Connecticut river.

Flattering themselves that the Nipmucks might be reclaimed, the governor and council of Massachusetts, despatched captains Hutchinson and Wheeler with twenty horsemen, to Brookfield, near which these Indians had engaged to hold a treaty with the inhabitants of that place. On reaching the settlements at Brookfield, they were joined by a number of people, and marched for the place assigned for holding the treaty; but finding no Indians at the place, Hutchinson continued his march four or five miles, to a narrow defile formed by a steep hill and a thick swamp, at the head of Wickaboag pond, where he was suddenly, and unexpectedly attacked by two or three hundred Indians in ambuscade; eight men fell on the first shot, and three were mortally wounded. Captain Wheeler had an extraordinary escape; his horse was shot down, and he received a ball through his body; seeing this, his son, whose arm was then fractured by a ball, dismounted and placed his wounded father upon his own horse, and mounting another, whose rider had been killed, they both escaped, and at length recovered of their wounds. The surviving English, retreated to the village of Brookfield, and had barely entered the place, when it was set on fire in various directions, by the pursuing enemy. The people of the village, in all, about seventy, repaired to a house slightly fortified, with a few logs hastily tumbled up, about the exterior side, and a few feather beds hung up in the interior, to deaden the balls, after the alarm was given. The house was soon surrounded by the enemy, and shot poured upon it, in all directions; but by the adverse fire they were kept at a respectful

distance. Every artifice in the power of the enemy, was resorted to for burning the building; fire arrows and combustibles attached to long poles, were tried in vain; a cart fill'd with hemp and other materials, and set on fire, was thrust forward with poles lengthened by splicing, but before it was sufficiently near to fire the house, a fortunate shower of rain extinguished the burning mass. A quantity of combustibles placed by the side of the fort in the night, was set on fire, by which the besieged were in imminent danger of a conflagration; they were now compelled to go out and draw water from a well, under a shower of shot; but they were so fortunate, as to extinguish the flames without the loss of a man. While a part of the Indians were thus employed at the fort, parties were stationed at a distance, on all the roads and avenues leading into the village, to intercept any troops that might approach to relieve the place, but their precaution failed. Major Simon Willard, at the head of a party of cavalry at this time was near Lancaster, on his march to attack a lodge of Indians to the westward of that place; on hearing of the critical situation of the people at Brookfield, he immediately changed his rout, and dashing on about thirty miles, reached the besieged garrison in the night. A drove of cattle which had been frightened from the place, by the yells, and firing of the Indians, happening to be near the rout on which Willard approached, fell into his rear, and followed him into the village; the Indians who were guarding that avenue, supposing Willard's force to be numerous, suffered him to pass without a shot. Finding the garrison thus reinforced, the Indians poured in a hot fire for a short time, killing several of the horses, then set fire to the remaining buildings, and retired into the woods.

During the attack, one man employed in drawing water from the well, though covered by a board fence, was wounded, on which he exclaimed "I am killed;" the Indian who shot him, exultingly called out "*me have killed Major Wilson.*" Though the attack continued three days, the casualties of the garrison, were very few; one man only, was killed within the house, and he in the chamber, where the enemy's balls often penetrated; but their loss is said to have been about eighty.

Notwithstanding the gallant conduct of major Willard, in the relief of Brookfield, it is stated that he was censured by the governor and council of Massachusetts, for deviating from his orders, which were, to attack the Indians in a different quarter. It will not be believed, however, that the orders were so rigidly imperative, as to admit of no discretion in the commander. In all expeditions against Indians in the distant forest, some latitude is evidently necessary. Probably the very Indians against whom major Willard was destined, were then at Brookfield; and if the orders were not so far discretionary, as to allow him to change his route, to relieve a place attacked by so powerful a force, the censure ought to rest upon the governor and council who gave them, and not upon him. Had he refused to relieve the distressed inhabitants of Brookfield, a more severe vituperation would have been bestowed upon him by the people of the province. Under all the circumstances of the case, his conduct must be pronounced highly proper, and his achievement gallant.

Soon after the attack on Brookfield, forces arrived at that place, under captains Lathrop and Beers from the eastern part of Massachusetts, and a corps of militia under lieutenant Cooper from Springfield, and also a company of Connecticut troops under captain Watts. These troops continued some time at Brookfield, under the command of major Willard; and the adjacent country was thoroughly scoured by detached parties. But the greatest part of the Indians had fled westward, and joined the Pocumtucks at Deerfield and Northfield, forming a considerable numerical force.

The settlements on Connecticut river, being now exposed to the inroads of the enemy, major Willard left Brookfield, and marched the principal part of his force to Hadley, to make arrangements for the defence of the towns in that quarter. Having completed this business, he left captains Lathrop and Beers, with their companies at Hadley, and returned to Brookfield, and not long after, with his corps to Boston.

The Hadley Indians, though they had not joined Philip's forces, began at this time to evince a hostile disposition, and they occupied a small fort, about a mile above Hatfield, which, it was apprehended, they

were about to abandon; resolving that they should not carry off their arms, the English commander determined, if possible, to seize them. The Indians, apprised of the design, fled in the night up the river towards Deerfield; captains Lathrop and Beers, with their companies, commenced a pursuit early next morning, and came up with them at a swamp, a small distance south of *Sugarloaf hill*, opposite to the present town of Sunderland, and a warm contest ensued; ten of the English and twenty six Indians fell; the remainder of the fugitives, joined Philip's forces, and Lathrop and Beers returned to Hadley.

Finding that the Indians on the river above Springfield, were determined to join in the war against the English, Massachusetts and Connecticut, immediately ordered reinforcements, and a body of Mohegan Indians, for the protection of the upper towns on the river; and small garrisons were posted at Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield and Northfield; but the main body remained at Hadley, where the peninsula formed by the river, afforded a defensible position against sudden attacks. This was the English head quarters, for this part of the country, and the assembled forces were now commanded by major Treat, a Connecticut officer.

Deerfield and Northfield were now much exposed to the fury of the enemy, who in considerable numbers lay in the neighboring woods. On the first of September, 1675, they fell upon the former place, killed one man and reduced several houses to ashes. Two or three days after, nine or ten people were killed in the woods at Northfield; others escaped to the garrisoned house. The day subsequent to this disaster, and before it was known at Hadley, captain Beers with thirty six mounted infantry, was detached by major Treat, to convoy provisions to the garrison and people at Northfield. Beers' route led through the present towns of Sunderland, Montague, and the tract called Erving's Grant, then a continued forest, through which was an imperfect road, the distance nearly thirty miles; and though continually exposed to attacks, he passed several difficult places, and among others, Miller's river without seeing an Indian. Dismounting and leaving the horses, the march was continued on foot, and was necessarily retarded by an accompanying baggage

waggon. At the distance of about two miles from the garrison at Northfield, the route lay over a deep swampy ravine, through which ran a considerable brook, emptying into Connecticut river. For some distance the ravine extended along the right of the route, and at the place where it was to be passed it made a short turn to the left, continuing directly to the river. Discovering Beers' approach, a large body of Indians formed an ambuscade at this place, and lay ready to attack his front and right. Without discovering the snare, Beers arrived at the point, and received the fire of the Indians from the margin of the ravine on his right. A considerable proportion of the party fell on the spot; the remainder instantly broke, and, in scattered order, retreated over a piece of level ground, closely followed by the Indians. Beers with a few of his men gained an abrupt hill, about three fourths of a mile in the rear, where they bravely maintained their ground sometime, against an overwhelming force; but at length he received a fatal shot, and the survivors were compelled to retire from the ground. Out of the thirty six, only sixteen escaped back to Hadley, leaving the baggage and wounded in the hands of the enemy.\*

Two days after this disaster, major Treat with one hundred men, arrived on the ground where Beers' was defeated, and witnessed the horrid barbarity of the Indians. Several of the slain were decapitated and their heads elevated on poles near the road; one man was suspended to a limb of a tree, by a chain hooked to his under jaw, probably while alive, and the whole scene was appalling. Pursuing his march to the town, the major found the garrison safe, and brought them off with the inhabitants. On his return he met captain Appleton with an additional force from Hadley, who was urgent to advance up the river in search of the enemy; but the major,

\* The ground where the disaster happened, is now cleared, and to this day is called *Beers' plain*, and the hill where the captain fell, *Beers' mountain*. Near the river, about three fourths of a mile south of the place of the first attack, is shewn a deep ravine, connecting with the river, called *Soldier's hole*, from one of Beers' men, who there sought safety in his flight. At a sandy knoll on the west side of the road, near the place where the attack commenced, the bones of the slain are still to be seen, in some instances, bleaching in the sun. Until lately the mail route from Montague to Northfield, passed over the ground, but by a recent alteration, it now runs a little to the west of it. Janes' mill is situated a small distance north of the place of attack.

knowing their great superiority, ordered the whole to return to Hadley. The Indians soon after destroyed the fort, houses and every thing valuable in the town.

The English forces at Hadley, were so augmented in the latter part of the same year, that it became necessary to collect provisions and forage at that place, for their subsistence. At Deerfield, fifteen miles up the Connecticut, a large quantity of wheat, deposited in the stack, was exposed to destruction by the enemy. Determining to avail himself of this valuable supply, the commanding officer at Hadley, detached captain Lathrop and his company, consisting of eighty men, with a number of teams and drivers to thrash and transport it to head quarters.

In obedience to his orders, Lathrop proceeded to Deerfield, where captain Mosely was then posted with a company of colony troops, and having thrashed the grain and loaded his teams, he commenced his march for Hadley on the 18th of September. No discovery had been made of the enemy in the vicinity, and probably Lathrop did not apprehend that they were watching his movements; but it seems they were too vigilant to let slip so fair an opportunity of depriving the English of such a valuable acquisition of stores, or to suffer so respectful a body of their enemy to escape their overwhelming force, then lurking in the adjacent woods.

For the distance of about three miles, after leaving Deerfield meadow, Lathrop's march lay through a very level country, closely wooded, where he was every moment exposed to an attack on either flank; at the termination of this distance, near the south point of *Sugarloaf hill*, the road approximated Connecticut river, and the left was in some measure protected. At the village now called *Muddy Brook*, in the southerly part of Deerfield, the road crossed a small stream, bordered by a narrow morass, from which the village has its name: though more appropriately it should be denominated *Bloody Brook*, by which it was for sometime known. Before arriving at the point of intersection with the brook, the road for about half a mile ran parallel to the morass, then crossing, it continued directly to the south point of Sugarloaf hill, traversing what is now the homelots on the east side of the village. As the morass was thickly

covered with brush, the place of crossing afforded a favorable point for surprise.

On discovering Lathrop's march, a body of upwards of seven hundred Indians, planted themselves in ambuscade at this point, and lay eagerly waiting to pounce upon him while passing the morass. Without scouring the woods in his front and flanks, or suspecting the snare laid for him, Lathrop arrived at the fatal spot; crossed the morass with the principal part of his force, and probably halted, to allow time for his teams to drag through their loads. The critical moment had arrived—the Indians instantly poured a heavy and destructive fire upon the column, and rushed furiously to close attack. Confusion and dismay succeeded. The troops broke and scattered, fiercely pursued by the Indians, whose great superiority enabled them to attack at all points. Hopeless was the situation of the scattered troops, and they resolved to sell their lives in a vigorous struggle. Covering themselves with trees the bloody conflict now became a severe trial of skill in sharp shooting, in which life was the *stake*. Difficult would it be to describe the havoc, barbarity and misery that ensued; "Fury raged, and shuddering pity quit the sanguine field," while desperation stood pitted, at "fearful odds," to unrelenting ferocity. The dead—the dying—the wounded—strewn the ground in all directions, and Lathrop's devoted force, was soon reduced to a small number, and resistance became faint. At length the unequal struggle terminated in the annihilation of nearly the whole of the English: only seven or eight escaped from the bloody scene, to relate the dismal tale; and the wounded were indiscriminately butchered. Captain Lathrop fell in the early part of the action, the whole loss including teamsters, amounted to ninety. The company was a choice corps of young men from the county of Essex, in Massachusetts—many from the most respectable families. Hubbard says "they were the flower of the county, none of whom were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate." Captain Lathrop was from Salem, Massachusetts.

Captain Mosely, at Deerfield, between four and five miles distant, hearing the musketry, made a rapid march for the relief of Lathrop, and arriving at the close of the

struggle, found the Indians stripping and mangling the dead. Promptly rushing on, in compact order, he broke through the enemy, and charging back and forth, cut down all within the range of his shot; and at length drove the remainder through the adjacent swamp, and another further west; and after several hours of gallant fighting, compelled them to seek safety in the more distant forest. His lieutenants, Savage and Pickering, often led the troops, and distinguished themselves in a particular manner, by their skill and persevering resolution.

Just at the close of the action major Treat, who, on the morning of the day, had marched towards Northfield, arrived on the ground with one hundred men, consisting of English, Pequot and Mohegan Indians, and shared in the final pursuit of the enemy. The gallant Mosely lost but two men in the various attacks, and seven or eight only were wounded. Probably the Indians had expended most of their ammunition in the action with Lathrop, and occasionally fought with their bows and spears.

Night approaching, Treat and Mosely proceeded to Deerfield, where they encamped for the night, and the next morning returned to the scene of slaughter, to bury the dead. A few Indians, who had returned to the spot, were found stripping the slain. A singular instance of resuscitation occurred at this time. One Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, who had been prostrated by a ball which contused his head—mauled by hatchets—stripped and left for dead, recovered his senses—rose from the ground covered with blood, and in a state of nudity, walked up to Mosely's men. He was furnished with clothes—carried to the English head quarters, recovered, and lived several years in perfect health.

The loss of the enemy in the various attacks of the day was not accurately ascertained at the time; but from accounts afterwards collected, it was calculated at ninety six. Probably the greatest proportion fell in the engagement with Mosely, who attacked by surprise, and when the Indians were unprepared.

The day after this disaster, a considerable body of the same Indians appeared at Deerfield, on the west side of the river in that town, and displaying the garments they had stripped from Lathrop's slain, made demonstrations



of an attack on the fortified house, which then contained a garrison of only twenty seven men. The commander held out delusive appearances of a strong force—caused his trumpet signals to be given, as if to call in additional troops, and so intimidated the Indians, that they withdrew without an attack. Finding the garrison exposed to an overwhelming force, the commander at Hadley ordered it to that post; the inhabitants abandoned the place, and it was soon after wholly destroyed by the enemy. Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton were now the frontier towns on the Connecticut.

It does not appear from the accounts that have reached us, whether Philip was present at the affair with Lathrop. But as his principal force was in this part of the country at the time, and some of the muskets taken from Lathrop's slain, were afterwards found among the Narragansets who had served under the chief while here, it is probable he was present and conducted the attack.

The surprise of Lathrop was attended with extraordinary slaughter, and very few, if any, cases can be cited from our military histories, where the destruction has been so great, as that on the part of the English, in proportion to the number engaged. Hubbard, as well as some later historians, attribute the misfortune to an erroneous mode of "fighting the Indians in their own way"—which had been inculcated by the captain; and they have supposed that if the assailed troops had been kept in compact order and fought in *a body* the result would have been very different. This however appears rather problematical. In cases of an attack by surprise, especially on covered ground, by a great superiority of force, little order can be maintained on the part of the assailed, and total defeat is generally the consequence. In the case of Lathrop, the Indians were more than seven to one of his force, and on the first fire, his number was greatly reduced. Confusion must have followed even among the best disciplined, and the most experienced regular troops. Had the company maintained its order on the first attack, it would immediately have been surrounded and assailed on all sides, by an enemy who had chosen their ground and plan of attack. Under these circumstances it is believed that Lathrop's men had no other alternative, than

the one that was adopted ; and that destruction was unavoidable, *after* they fell into the ambuscade. The truth is, the error did not lie in the *mode* of fighting, but in want of circumspection on the previous march. Had Lathrop scoured the woods with a vigilant van guard and flankers, he might have discovered the ambuscade, in time to have prepared for action ; or, if he found the enemy too powerful, to have made his retreat to Deerfield, probably without great loss, other than his baggage.

In cases of ambuscade no commander of a considerable force, can shelter himself under the plea, *that the enemy were not expected at the place*. For by due caution, a body of such strength may *always* discover them in season, and avoid an attack on the *main body*. But circumspection seems to have been a military virtue, with which the officers in our early wars were little acquainted. Personally brave, they held the Indians in low estimation ; more discipline and knowledge of systematic war, would have taught them more prudence ; and had they adhered to the maxim, so important in military operations—that “*distrust is the mother of security*,” they would have baffled the enemy with less expense of lives.

According to oral accounts current at this day, Lathrop halted at the brook and permitted his men to regale themselves on the grapes which loaded the trees on the margin of the swamp, in the very teeth of the Indians, without discovering the ambuscade, and the attack commenced in this unguarded situation. This circumstance is omitted, or rather contradicted by Hubbard, for he says the company was marching when the attack began. It is not improbable, however that something of this nature occurred among the baggage drivers ; but, incautious as Lathrop was on the previous march. it will not readily be believed that he was guilty of so reprehensible a supineness, as to permit this irregularity among his troops.\*

\* The place where this tragic affair happened, is near the centre of the village of Muddy-Brook, and about thirty rods southerly of the meeting house in that place. The stage road passes over the ground and crosses the brook on a small bridge, precisely where Lathrop passed. A rude monument was erected near the place of attack, some time after the catastrophe ; it stood in what is now the front yard of the house of Stephen Whitney, Esq. on the east side of the public way ; but is now gone to decay, and two plain stone flags, lying near the front of the house are its only remains. Several gentlemen have it in contemplation to repair the old, or erect a new monument, near the same spot with an appropriate inscription.

While the Indians above Hadley were thus spreading destruction, the Springfield Indians remained peaceably at home, but roused, probably, by the successes of their brethren at Deerfield and Northfield, and instigated by Philip, they now began to exhibit hostile intentions. The inhabitants took the precaution to strengthen their fortified houses in the village; and as a further security they persuaded the Indians to deliver a few hostages, who were sent to Hartford, in Connecticut, where they might be safely kept. Overcome at length by the arts of Philip, they resolved to join him in the war, and made secret preparations for commencing hostilities; the hostages at Hartford were artfully enticed away, and about three hundred hostile Indians secretly admitted into their fort, situated about a mile below the village of Springfield, at a place called Longhill. This took place in the night of the 4th of October.

The artful plan had been discovered by one Toto, a Windsor Indian, and by him communicated, in the night, to the Springfield people. On the receipt of this intelligence, the town was thrown into great consternation, and the inhabitants generally repaired to the fortified houses. No disturbance occurring during the night, hopes were entertained that the alarm would prove false. Under this impression, on the morning of the fifth, lieutenant Cooper, the military commander of the place, accompanied by one man, resolved to reconnoitre the Indian fort, to ascertain the correctness of the information of the Windsor Indian. Approaching the little river at the lower end of the village, Cooper received a shot from a concealed Indian, which mortally wounded him, and another killed his companion. Being on horseback, the lieutenant escaped to the nearest fortified house, where he soon after died. The whole body of the Indians, with a horrible shout, then rushed furiously into the village, and set fire to the unfortified houses and barns, and in a short time it was wrapt in flames. Fortunately, the principal part of the inhabitants were still in the fortified houses, from which they kept up a fire on the Indians when they exposed themselves to view, and killed some at long shot while they supposed themselves out of danger.\*

\* As a relic of this catastrophe, the people of Springfield exhibit a pewter platter

Major Treat, who at this time was at Westfield, with a considerable force, receiving intelligence of the disaster, pressed on for Springfield, but on arriving on Connecticut river, he found it impossible to pass for want of boats. Another force under major Pyncheon and captain Appleton, hurried on from Hadley, but before they reached the place, the principal part of the buildings were reduced to ashes, and the Indians had withdrawn with their plunder. Thirty two dwelling houses, and twenty five barns with their contents, exhibited their smoking ruins, as the troops entered the village. Most of the inhabitants escaped the hatchet, but the loss of property was severe; the people were reduced to great distress, and with difficulty found means to subsist through the ensuing winter. Mr. Pelatiah Glover, minister of the town, lost his house, and with it a valuable collection of books, which he had recently received.\*

The enemy having retired from this quarter, captain Appleton returned to Hadley with the principal part of the troops, and took the command at that place, in the absence of majors Treat and Pyncheon.

Flushed with their repeated successes, the Indians did not long remain idle. They next resolved to try their strength upon the English head quarters. At this time captain Appleton, with one company, lay at Hadley, and captains Mosely and Poole, with two companies, at Hatfield, and major Treat had just reached Northampton, with a considerable force, for the security of that place. On the nineteenth of October, between seven and eight hundred Indians approached the out posts at Hatfield, and after cutting off several parties which were scouring the woods in the vicinity, made a rapid attack on the town in various directions. While Poole bravely defended one extremity, Mosely, with no less resolution, protected the centre, and Appleton, arriving with his force, maintained the other extremity. After a severe contest, the Indians were repulsed at every point; many were driven across mill river in confusion, and in their hurry, attempting to carry off their dead and wounded, with a perforation made by a musket ball, shot from one of the forts while an Indian was holding it against his body as a shield, by which he was killed. A brick house then standing, is still seen in the village.

\* Hubbard calls it a "a brave library."—*Indian Wars*, p. 131.

lost many of their guns in the river. They however found time to fire several buildings, which were consumed, and to drive off a number of cattle and sheep, from the vicinity of the place. As their retreat was made at dusk, their loss was not ascertained, and that of the English is not given. Captain Appleton had a critical escape. A ball passed through the hair of his head, and his sergeant was mortally wounded at his side. Whether Philip was present at the attacks on Springfield and Hatfield does not appear from our early histories; but as the Indians were of considerable force, and he was in this quarter of the country at the time, it is highly probable he was at their head.

As the winter was now approaching, the principal part of Philip's Womponoags returned down the country to Narraganset, and adjacent parts, where they might with more certainty procure supplies of provisions, and the country bordering the Connecticut, was in some measure relieved from inroads of large bodies. Small parties of the river Indians still continued to hover in the adjacent woods, and alarm the plantations. In the latter part of October, several people at Northampton, out some distance with their teams, were attacked; major Treat immediately dashed on to their relief; but the enemy, after burning a few buildings, had fled, and the people attacked, escaped without material injury. Not long after, three men were killed in the meadow of that town, and the enemy attempted to burn a mill in the vicinity, but were driven off without effecting their design. About the same time three men were killed between Springfield and Westfield, and four houses were burned at the latter place. A few other predatory incursions of the enemy, at Springfield, and the village of Longmeadow, in which a few people were killed, and some buildings burnt, closed the operations of the enemy for the season on Connecticut river.

In the easterly quarter of Massachusetts, the English still continued their operations. In the beginning of November, captain Henchman marched from Boston, with a company, to destroy the Indian lodges at Mendon, Grafton, and other places in that quarter, and a company from Cambridge was ordered to join him. After several

days' march, Henschman reached the Indian country, and several skirmishes took place between detached parties, in one of which, lieutenant Curtis and one soldier were killed. A considerable quantity of corn was destroyed, and a captive recovered from the enemy, but the expedition was not crowned with any important success.

In the course of this year, a party consisting of forty two of Philip's Indians, was attacked in Wrentham, by a small party of men from that town. The Indians were discovered on the march, towards evening, by one of the inhabitants, who, cautiously following, saw them pitch their camp near a precipice. Returning to the town, he informed the people of his discovery, and captain Ware and thirteen men marched to the place, and posted themselves within fair shot of the Indians without discovery. When they arose in the morning, Ware gave them a sudden fire—drove them down the precipice, and killed about twenty four of their number—the remainder escaped.\*

During the following winter, incursions of the Indians were nearly suspended, and the people on the frontiers employed themselves in constructing more defensible works about their houses, and plantations; but these were simple, and exhibited little of the science of modern fortification. In general they consisted of palisades of cleft wood set in the ground without ditches, and in some cases without flanking parts, barely defensible against musketry, and too often covering an area much too extensive for the number of men posted for their defence. Block houses, upon the modern construction, seem not to have been introduced, though works of this nature, properly placed, and furnished with a few swivels, would have been a complete defence against all the arts and force of the Indians.

\* Men recently living, have seen their bones upon the spot. The precipice known by the name of *Indian rock* is now within the bounds of Franklin, three miles north west of Wrentham.—*Dr. Mann's Letter—Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. x, p. 138. Old Series.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE war which had now raged several months, was principally confined to Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies; but the more northerly settlements now began to experience its destructive effects. The Pennacooks and other Indians on the Merrimack, had already committed some hostilities, and it was apprehended that they, as well as the whole of the eastern Indians, would soon join in the war, in aid of Philip.

In this threatening state of affairs, the commissioners of the United Colonies were assembled, to concert more effectual measures of defence. A narrative, shewing how the war had originated, was laid before the meeting by the commissioners from Plymouth, in the month of September, by which it appeared that the war was just on the part of the English, and that a vigorous prosecution could alone save the country from destruction. The commissioners therefore resolved to raise a force of one thousand men from the United Colonies, in the proportion established by the articles of confederation. Massachusetts was to furnish five hundred and twenty seven, Plymouth one hundred and fifty eight, and Connecticut three hundred and fifteen. New Haven, at this time was united with Connecticut. At a subsequent meeting in November, it was declared that the Narragansets were "deeply accessory in the present bloody outrages;" and it was resolved that an expedition should be carried into their country, and a further force of one thousand men should be raised for that service. Of the hostile disposition of the Narragansets, little doubt could be entertained, for they had broken many articles of the treaty made with the English at the commencement of the war, and large numbers of their young men had been with Philip, in several attacks on the English, and the discovery of fire arms among them, taken from captain Lathrop's men, killed at Deerfield, removed all doubt upon the subject.

The expedition against the Narragansets, having been determined on, one thousand men were promptly raised, and placed under the command of Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth. Those from Massachusetts, composed a corps under major Appleton, consisting of six

companies commanded by captains Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver, Johnson and Prentice; the last was cavalry. The Connecticut troops, composed a corps under major Treat, of five companies, commanded by captains Seely, Gallop, Mason, Watts and Marshall; and Plymouth troops consisted of two companies, under major Bradford and captain Gorham.

On the ninth of December, the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops, assembled at Dedham, and marched about twenty seven miles, to Woodcock's plantation; thence continuing their march through Seconck, Providence, and over Patuxet river, they arrived at Wickford; the place intended for head quarters. On the route, captain Mosely surprised and captured thirty six of the enemy, and parties detached from Wickford, traversed the country in various directions; one of which burned one hundred and fifty cabins, and killed and captured several Indians. Prentice's dragoons penetrated the country as far as Pettyquamscott, which they found the enemy had burned, after killing fifteen of the inhabitants. The next day, the 18th, the whole army advanced to that place, and were joined by the Connecticut forces under major Treat, who on his march, had killed and taken a number of the enemy.

The Indians had been apprised of the designs of the English against the country, in time to prepare for their reception. Their best warriors had collected, and chosen a position in a large swamp, in the centre of which, on an elevation containing five or six acres, they had constructed a work of palisades, and encompassed it with a sort of hedge, or rude abattis, through which was only one principal passage into the work, and this over a long log stretching across a brook, defended by suitable flanks; and at one angle of the place, was a low gap, covered by a log four or five feet high, which might be scaled; but near this was a sort of block house so placed as to enfilade this weak point. The fortification in every part, presented a formidable defence against musketry; and from the nature of the surrounding swamp, the approach was difficult.\*

\* The site of this place, is in the town of South Kingston, Rhode Island, seven or eight miles west of the south ferry to Newport.



The destruction of Pettyquamscott, was unfortunate for Winslow's army; for here they expected to find a cover from the inclemency of the weather; and *Bull's garrison* at this place, which had also been destroyed, would have furnished a place of defence in case of misfortune. Deprived of shelter, the troops were compelled to remain through a stormy night, with no cover but the heavens, and as the weather was extremely cold, they suffered severely. Early in the morning of the nineteenth, Winslow put the army in motion, to attack the enemy. The distance was about sixteen miles—the snow deep—and the provisions were carried on the backs of the men. At one o'clock in the afternoon, guided by an Indian, the army reached the skirts of the swamp, where a party of the enemy had taken post; this was instantly attacked, and the Indians driven into their works. Four companies of the van troops immediately rushed through the swamp, and accidentally arriving at the log gap, mounted that angle of the fort; but were soon compelled to fall back to avoid the destructive fire of the enemy, poured from the block house. Reinforced by two other companies, another attempt was made on the same point, and, by a most gallant charge over the log, the troops entered the fort, and beat the enemy from a flanker, and notwithstanding the severity of the fire from other points, maintained it; but the enemy continuing their resistance, with great obstinacy, victory hung in doubtful suspense. The remainder of the army now pressing through the swamp, entered the fort at the point that had been carried, and the contest continued about three hours, but still with doubtful success. The enemy driven from one covert to another, poured upon the English a fatal fire, reluctantly giving up their ground, and some were driven out of the fort. Captain Church, who was acting as aid, to general Winslow, at the head of a volunteer party, about this time dashed through the fort, and got into the swamp in the rear, where he made a destructive fire on the rear of a party of the enemy, who had there taken post, and were pouring in their fire upon the English; and charging with his usual gallantry, again entered the place, driving the Indians before him. But this exploit was not achieved without a severe wound.

Thus attacked in different directions—forced from their covert places, and fast falling by the fire of the English, the warriors gave up the contest, and fled into the wilderness.

The Indian cabins, amounting to about six hundred, were now set on fire, and in a few moments, every thing in the interior of the fort, was involved in a blaze; and a scene of horror was now exhibited. Several hundred of the Indians, strewed the ground on all sides; about three hundred miserable women and children, with lamentable shrieks, were running in every direction to escape the flames, in which many of the wounded, as well as the helpless old men were seen broiling and roasting, and adding to the terrors of the scene, by their agonizing yells. The most calous heart must have been melted to pity, at so awful a spectacle.

The Indians who escaped, fled to a cedar swamp, not far distant, and passed the night without fire or food, or covering, but that afforded by the boughs of trees. By information afterwards obtained from a Narraganset chief, it was ascertained that they lost about seven hundred warriors at the fort, and three hundred who died of their wounds; the whole number in the place, at the commencement of the attack, was reckoned at about four thousand.

After the destruction of the place, Winslow, about sunset, commenced his march for Pettyquamscott, in a snow storm, carrying most of his dead and wounded; where he arrived a little after midnight, with his worn down troops. Several whose wounds probably were not mortal, overcome with cold, died on the march, and the next day thirty four were buried in one grave. Many were severely frozen, and about four hundred, so disabled that they were unfit for duty. The whole number killed and wounded, was about two hundred; among the former, were captains Davenport, Gardner and Johnson, of Massachusetts; and captains Gallop, Seely and Marshall, of Connecticut; and captain Mason of the latter province, and lieutenant Upham, of the former, afterwards died of their wounds.

This expedition against the Narragansets was conducted with spirit, and the attack on the fort exhibited

the most obstinate valor on the part of the English. Much no doubt was due to the officers who led the troops to the assault, who were men of no common stamp. Though some had been in the service the preceding summer, and had seen hard fighting, they were little acquainted with systematic war.\* To their bone and nerve, and not to skill were they indebted for their success, and the soldiers were of the same character. But with more art, and prudence, they would have achieved a victory with less expence of lives. As the assault was not made by surprise, it is obvious it was too percipitate. Had the fort been reconnoitred, and the attack made simultaneously on several points, according to a preconcerted plan, it might have been carried with a comparatively small loss on the part of the assailants. The conflagration of the cabins *after the enemy had left the place*, was an injudicious step. Had they been saved, a comfortable lodging would have been afforded for the English, the succeeding night; the dangerous march through the snow, incumbered with the wounded, avoided, and probably many lives been saved. Captain Church readily perceived the consequences of destroying the cabins; and when he saw they were to be fired, he remonstrated against it, and persuaded the commander to put a stop to the measure; but, being then out of the fort, the conflagration became general, before the orders could be transmitted to the officers within.

This brilliant success of the English, though attended with severe loss, on the part of the Narragansets, and great derangement of their plans, did not humble their haughty warriors. The greater part under the sachem Conanchet soon after, left their country, and proceeding to the northward, joined the Nipmucks, the river Indians, and Philip's other allies, about Deerfield and Northfield; with a determination to revenge themselves as occasions should offer. The English did not however draw off the whole of the forces from the Narraganset country; the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops were ordered to remain several weeks, during which time they destroyed many abandoned towns, and stores laid in for winter; and cap-

\* Captain Mosely had been an old privateer at Jamaica, and probably one of the buccaniers.—*Hutchinson*, Vol. i. p. 262.

tured some of the Indians. The Connecticut forces, who had suffered very severely in the attack on the fort, returned home, capturing on their march about thirty straggling Narragansets.

In the latter part of January, the Massachusetts troops left Narraganset, and marched to the country about Marlborough and Lancaster, and on their route they captured several Indians, and destroyed some of their cabins, but no large body of the enemy was found. At length, finding their provisions nearly expended, they returned to Boston to recruit, and prepare for further operations. Prentice's dragoons were still kept upon the alert on the frontiers, and in several excursions, made depredations on the Indian lodges.

Driven from their country without a stock of provisions, it would appear that the Narragansets must have suspended their hostile operations, from a want of subsistence; but this was to them a source of little difficulty. The country afforded a great plenty of game; besides they found cattle on the borders of the English settlements, from which they often obtained relief. In their retreat from Narraganset, they drove off, from one of the plantations, fifteen horses, fifty head of neat cattle, and two hundred sheep. These, with those taken at other places, added to the game procured in hunting, furnished ample supplies for the winter, and the Indians were always ready for offensive operations.

On the tenth of February, several hundred of the enemy fell upon Lancaster, then containing fifty families, and killed and captured forty two people. Among the latter, were Mrs. Rowlandson and her children, the family of the minister at that place, who happened to be absent, and most of the buildings were set on fire. Captain Wadsworth, then at Marlborough, being informed of the attack, pressed on to Lancaster with forty men, and saved the town from entire ruin. Mrs. Rowlandson and her children were some time after redeemed from captivity.

The rage of the enemy was next turned on the eastern towns. The latter part of February nearly half of Medfield, was burnt, and twenty of the inhabitants killed. The enemy were supposed to have been about

five hundred ; but their being abody of troops in the town, they were driven off before they could complete the destruction. Soon after, seven or eight buildings suffered the same fate at Weymouth. On the thirteenth of March, Groton, with the exception of four fortified houses, was reduced to ashes. The seventeenth of the same month, Warwick, (near Providence,) with the exception of one house, suffered the same misfortune, and before the close of the month, most of the town of Marlborough was added to the list of conflagrations.

About this time, captain Peirce, of Scituate, with fifty men and twenty Cape Cod Indians, were almost entirely cut off at Pawtuxet river, in Rhode Island. Having passed the river, he discovered a body of Indians in his front, too numerous to attack, on which he fell back and took a position under the bank. The Indians then advanced, and a part crossing over, attacked him from the opposite bank, while a large force encircled him on the side where he had chosen his position, and poured in a concentric fire with great effect. No possibility of extricating his men remaining, he resolved to resist to the last. He found means, however, to send a man to Providence for succor, but none arrived in season. In the mean time, he maintained his ground with great resolution, but resistance was vain ; he, with fifty of his men were cut down. The enemy, however, paid dear for their victory ; more than one hundred are said to have fallen by the desperate fire of the English.

Among those who were so fortunate as to escape from the scene of slaughter, were several Cape Indians. One of these artful fellows, named Amos, finding further resistance impossible, took from his pouch a black pigment, and coloring his face to resemble the blackened vissages of the enemy, and pretending to join them in the fight, watched an opportunity, and fled into the woods and escaped. Another who had broken through the enemy, being closely pursued by a single Indian, betook himself to a large rock for a cover ; soon perceiving that his enemy had gained the opposite side, and lay with his gun ready to discharge upon him, should he leave the place, he artfully raised his hat upon a pole, and immediately his enemy pierced it with a ball ; the Cape

Indian instantly raising himself, shot his enemy dead. A third, who had escaped and was pursued in a similar manner, covered himself behind a mass of earth turned up with the roots of a tree; seeing this, his antagonist halted, and prepared to shoot the cape Indian, the moment he should resume his flight; but the latter, by perforating his breast work, made a convenient loop hole, and shot his enemy, before he discovered the artifice.

Two days after the disaster of captain Peirce, about forty dwelling houses, and thirty barns, were burned by the enemy at Rahoboth, and the next day thirty houses at Providence. About this time eleven persons were killed, and one house consumed at Plymouth. Early in April, some mischief was done at Chelmsford and Andover, and on the seventeenth, the few remaining houses at Marlborough, were consumed.

Sudbury was next to experience the rage of the Indians. On the eighteenth of April, they attacked that place, and burned several buildings; the alarm having reached Concord, a party pushed rapidly from that place for the relief of their neighbors, and arriving at a meadow near a garrisoned house, they fell into an ambuscade, and were all slain. By repairing to a fortified house, the people of the town escaped the grasp of the enemy, who, finding no strong force approaching to relieve the place, remained in the neighboring woods, ready for further depredations. Captain Wadsworth with fifty men, joined by captain Broclebank, and a few volunteers from Rowley, were at this time marching for the protection of Marlborough, and learning that the Indians were in the woods about Sudbury, he changed his route towards that place. About a mile from the town, he discovered a party of Indians, as he supposed of about one hundred, who were retiring into the neighboring woods. Wadsworth, immediately, though very incautiously, commenced a pursuit, and was drawn about a mile into the forest, without apprehending he was running into a fatal snare, laid for him; of a sudden, five hundred Indians surrounded him, and immediately commenced a fierce attack. Wadsworth and his men determined to sell their lives dearly; they fought some time with great obstinacy, and gained an eminence; but all was of no avail against such a nu-

merical superiority. According to some accounts, a small number escaped, but it is more generally stated that they sold their lives even to the last man, and the Indians are supposed to have sustained a considerable loss.

A monument was erected on the ground where this catastrophe happened, by president Wadsworth of Harvard College, (a son of captain Wadsworth.) It was recently standing, to the west of Sudbury causeway, about a quarter of a mile from the great road that leads from Boston to Worcester, with the following inscription—"Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton—his Lieut. Sharpe, of Brookline—captain Broclebank, of Rowley, with about twenty six other souldiers, fighting for the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian enemy, April 18th 1676; and lie buried at this place."\*

The day Wadsworth was cut off, a party from Brookfield, on their march to Sudbury with provisions, suffered a slight attack from the same Indians, and three men were killed or captured.

Several towns in the colony of Plymouth were next to suffer the ravages of the enemy. Soon after the affair at Sudbury, nineteen buildings were burned at Scituate, but the place was saved from total destruction, by a spirited attack of the inhabitants upon the Indians. On the eighth of May, Bridgewater was invaded and seventeen buildings laid in ashes. A few days after, eleven houses and five barns were burned at Plymouth; and soon after other buildings were destroyed at the same place, and several at Namasket, the old part of Middleborough. In all these incursions, very few of the inhabitants were killed; probably they secured themselves in the fortified houses, which were now multiplied in every exposed village.

Though the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth were the principal sufferers in the war, Connecticut, besides furnishing their quota of troops required by the commissioners of the United Colonies, raised several volunteer corps, principally from New London, Norwich and Stonington, for the annoyance of the enemy. To these were attached a considerable number of Mohegans and

\* Twenty six is supposed to be the number of bodies found, but fifty at least, were killed.—*Holmes*, Vol. i. p. 429.

Pequots, and some of Ninegret's friendly Narragansets. On the 27th of March, a body of these troops, under captains Dennison and Avery, penetrated the country of the hostile Narragansets. At this time, Conanchet, the principal sachem of the Narragansets, who, after Winslow's destruction of the fort at the great swamp, had fled from his country and taken up his residence at Squakheag, returned with a party of his Indians, for the purpose of procuring seed corn at Seconck, to plant the intervals on Connecticut river, the ensuing season. While on this expedition, he joined, and is supposed to have commanded the Indians, who cut off captain Peirce's corps, at Patuxet.

While traversing the country, Dennison and Avery, struck the trail of a large body of Indians, and commenced a pursuit; two squaws were soon captured, from whom information was obtained, that the Indians were a party under the command of Conanchet; and that he was on Black river, not far distant. The two captains pressed their march, and came up with the Indians, who immediately scattered in different directions. Conanchet took a route by himself, and was pursued by a small party who had observed his flight. The quick footed sachem made every exertion to outstrip his pursuers, by throwing off his laced coat, and belt of peag, but on crossing the river, he accidentally plunged under water, and wet his gun; and was soon overtaken by a swift footed Pequot, to whom he surrendered without opposition. Robert Staunton, a young man of twenty two years, coming up, began to question the chief, on various subjects, on which the indignant captive, with a look of contempt, replied "*you much child—no understand matters of war; let your captain come, him I will answer!*" He was delivered to the English—conveyed to Stonington, and after a sort of trial, condemned to be shot by the Mohegan and Pequot sachems. On being offered his life, provided he would make peace with the English, he rejected the proffer. When told of his fate, he complacently replied, that "*he liked it well—that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had said any thing unworthy of himself.*" This haughty chief, was a son of the famous Miantonomi, who was put to death by Uncus, at Sachem's plain



as has been related, and he appears to have possessed, in a high degree, the proud spirit of his father.

In various other expeditions of the Connecticut volunteers in Narraganset, in the months of February, March and April, under captains Dennison, Avery, Palms and Staunton, most important services were rendered the country. Large bodies of the enemy had returned from the northern woods, and were harrassing the frontier settlements of Massachusetts and Plymouth, and carrying destruction in all directions. These active officers, penetrated the enemy's country—destroyed their lodges, and finally drove most of them to distant regions. In their various incursions, they are said to have captured two hundred and thirty Indians, fifty muskets, and taken one hundred and sixty bushels of corn, and all this with such skill and address, that scarcely a man was killed by the enemy. Connecticut subsequently raised three hundred and fifty men, and a considerable body of friendly Indians, who constituted a standing force, to act offensively, or defensively as circumstances should require; and major John Talcott, an active and spirited officer was placed at the head of the corps.

During the depredations on the eastern towns, in Plymouth and Massachusetts, in the early part of the year 1676, those on Connecticut river, in the latter province suffered much less from the enemy. But as large bodies of Indians were collecting about Deerfield and Northfield, and several Frenchmen had for some time resided in the former town, who were instigating the Indians to further depredations, attacks were constantly apprehended by the people of the towns on Connecticut river below. The agency of these Frenchmen left little room to doubt that the Canadians were aiding the Indians in the war, either by furnishing them with arms and ammunition, or by the savages in that quarter; and this suspicion was strengthened, when it was ascertained, that some of the English, captured on Connecticut river, were actually carried to Canada.

Under these threatening aspects, Massachusetts, early in the spring, sent major Thomas Savage, with several newly raised companies, to the western frontiers of the province. At Brookfield they were joined by a consider-

able force from under major Treat, from Connecticut; and several expeditions were made to the northward of that place, in which skirmishes were not unfrequent. Savage and Treat soon after proceeded to Hadley, and posted their troops as follows: at that place, captain Whipple's, Gilman's, and one company of Connecticut troops, under major Savage; at Northampton, two companies of Connecticut, with captain Turner's company, under major Treat; and at Hatfield, captain Mosely's, and one company of Connecticut troops.

The Indians were soon discovered in the neighboring woods, in considerable numbers; and apprehensions were entertained that an attack would be made on some of the exposed towns, and they were soon realized. On the fourteenth of March, at break of day, a large body of the enemy, fell upon Northampton—broke through the surrounding palisades at three points—sat on fire ten buildings, and killed and wounded eleven people; but by a prompt attack, by the troops under major Treat, they were soon repulsed, and driven into the woods. They then appeared before Hatfield, and threatened an attack on that place. Maj. Savage immediately detached a company from Hadley, to strengthen the garrison under captain Mosely, on which the enemy withdrew, and soon re-appeared at Northampton; but their late repulse from that place, seems to have cooled their ardor and they soon drew off. Soon after, a party of the enemy appeared at Westfield, where they wounded one man, and took a small quantity of corn.

On the twenty sixth of March, a number of people from Longmeadow, being on their way to attend public worship in Springfield, escorted by a party of cavalry, were attacked and two killed and several wounded. As the attack was made from the woods bordering the road, the escort afforded little protection; two women with their children falling from their horses during the confusion, were seized by the Indians, and dragged into a swamp in the vicinity. In the mean time the people in the van, were safely conveyed to Springfield, by the cavalry, who returned expeditiously to the place of attack; but the Indians had retired into the woods. The next day the captured women and children were found in the

margin of the swamp, badly wounded by Indian hatchets, some of whom died after being conveyed to their places of residence.

After this affair at Longmeadow, parties of the Indians were discovered, hovering in the woods, in the vicinity of Springfield. Captain Holyoke of that place, was sent out with a party to scour the country, and after a close search came up with, and surprised a small body of Indians near Connecticut river; three were killed, and one mortally wounded, escaped by swimming to an island; another was captured and carried to Springfield.

In the beginning of April, a number of the inhabitants of Hadley, who had gone down the river to Hockanum, under a small guard, for the purpose of tillage, ventured out some distance from the guard, and a part to the summit of mount Holyoke, to view the surrounding country from the peak, so noted at this day. A party of Indians rushed upon them, and killed two of the number on the mount. Deacon Goodman, having proceeded some distance in a different direction, to view the inclosures of his field, was also killed. The Indians soon after this affair, retiring into the more northern woods, part of the forces at Hadley, and in the vicinity, were ordered to another part of the country under majors Savage and Treat.

During these early incursions of the enemy, the prime leader of the war, Philip had not been seen, nor was it certainly known where he quartered during the winter season. As a price had been set upon his head, he seems to have been cautious of exposing himself to capture, and probably he did not fully rely on the faithfulness of his allied sachems, some of whom, it appears, began to exhibit a little impatience at the distresses brought upon them, as they conceived, by his plans. By a Natick Indian sent among the enemy about Brookfield, at the close of 1675, information was obtained that Philip was then near Albany, probably with the design of engaging the Mohawks in the war; and that the Hadley Indians were posted in the woods, between that place and Connecticut river, and began to show symptoms of disaffection towards the chief. Some accounts however, state that Philip spent the winter among the Canada Indians, who

he flattered himself would join him in the spring. Probably he visited both places; but if his plan was to gain over the Mohawks, he was disappointed; for in the following summer they commenced hostilities against some of his allies, and killed a considerable number.

But however this may be, it is certain the powerful chief was far from giving up the contest with the English. In the month of May, he was found at the head of a powerful force in the northern part of Massachusetts, occupying the country in detached parties, from Wachuset hill in what is now Princetown, to Northfield and Deerfield, on Connecticut river; but considerable numbers were still in, and about Narraganset, ravaging the adjacent English settlements.

Harrassed by the English, and disappointed as the Indians had been by the failure of Conanchet, in procuring seed corn, for planting the lands on the Connecticut river, they resolved to avail themselves of the shad, salmon and other fish which, in vast quantities ascended the river in the spring season, for their present as well as future supply. For this purpose several large bodies took up positions at the falls, and narrow passes of the streams in the neighborhood of the line of country occupied by Philip's forces.

No river in New England afforded a greater abundance of fish than the Connecticut; and no place on the river presented a more favorable station for taking them, than the falls between the present towns of Gill and Montague. Many of our present inhabitants will recollect the time when upwards of five thousand shad have been taken in a day, by dipping nets at Burnham's rock, at that place. This rock was situated at the pitch of the cataract, and none but the most skilful watermen attempted to navigate a light canoe or batteau to it; and even by these the task was considered extremely dangerous. It was approached from above by a delicate use of the paddle, and an eye that could measure a mite, and resolve compound forces at a glance. A deviation of a few degrees in steering, was certain to plunge the adventurer down the rugged cataract, in which case, drowning must ensue. The rock is now covered by the water, raised by a lofty dam, constructed below, for the purpose

of diverting the stream from its natural course, into a canal. The river for some distance above, flowing smoothly in a southwest direction, makes a sudden turn to the northwest, about half a mile above the fall, and curving to the right assumes nearly a north course; here it meets with a chain of rocks, stretching across the whole channel, crowned by two rocky islands, and falls abruptly forty or fifty feet into a cavity, in wild confusion. Continuing its boiling course a short distance it receives *Fall river*, a small stream from the north, then making a sharp flexure to the left, and passing over a smaller bar some distance below, and several islands, it takes its usual southerly course a little below Deerfield river. By the erection of the dam, for the accommodation of the canal, the cataract has lost much of its original wildness, but nothing of its sublimity, and is visited as a curiosity.

Several hundred Indians had taken station on elevated ground, on the right bank of the river at the head of the fall; a smaller party occupied the opposite bank, and another was stationed at what is now called *Smead's island*, upwards of a mile below. As the English forces at Hadley and the adjacent towns, were not at this time very numerous, the Indians considered themselves little exposed to an attack, and had become remiss in guarding their station. Two lads, Stebbins and Gilbert, who had been taken prisoners on the river below, and carried to the falls, fortunately escaped, and informed the English of the positions and remissness of the Indians.

On the receipt of this intelligence, it was determined to collect a force from Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield, and strike at the enemy at the falls. About one hundred and sixty mounted men assembled at Hatfield, under captain Turner of the colony troops, as commander, and captain Holyoke, of the Springfield, and ensign Lyman, of the Northampton militia, and under the direction of two skilful guides, commenced their march for the falls, in the evening of the 17th of May—the distance about twenty miles.

Passing the ruins of Deerfield, and the river at the northerly part of the meadow in that town. they were heard by a lodge of Indians, seated at what is now called *Cheapside*, a small distance below the place where the

English forded. The Indians immediately turned out and examined the usual place of crossing, but finding no trail, they concluded the noise proceeded from moose wading the river, and returned to their lodge. Eluding these Indians, Turner continued his march into what is now Greenfield meadow, and passing Green river and a trackless forest of about four miles, halted on elevated land, a small distance west of fall river, about half a mile from the Indian camp at the falls, where his men dismounted and left their horses, tied to saplings, under a small guard.

Day was now about to dawn, but all was still in the Indian camp. Preparations for the attack were momentary, and the march was promptly commenced ; crossing Fall river, and climbing up an abrupt hill, the English pushing rapidly through an intervening wood, rushed upon the back of the camp and found the Indians in a profound sleep, without even a watch. Roused from their slumbers by the sudden roar of musketry, they fled towards the river, vociferating *Mohawks ! Mohawks !* believing this furious enemy was upon them. Many leaped into their canoes, some in the hurry forgetting their paddles, and attempting to cross, were shot by the English, or precipitated down the dreadful cataract and drowned, while others were killed in their cabins or took shelter under the shelving rocks of the river bank, where they were cut down by their assailants without much resistance. Captain Holyoke is said here to have dispatched five with his own sword ; nor did the soldiers evince less activity ; all performed their duty in a most gallant manner, and the affair was soon over, with the loss of only one man on the part of the assailants. The loss of the Indians was severe ; one hundred were left dead on the ground, and one hundred and forty were seen to pass down the cataract, but one of whom escaped drowning. A few gained the opposite shore, and joined their companions on that side. The whole loss as was afterwards acknowledged, amounted to about three hundred of all descriptions ; among whom were many of their principal sachems.\*

Having thus effected his object, collected his men, and

destroyed the Indian cabins, Turner commenced his march towards the horses. At this time a party of Indians were seen crossing the river a little above the fall and twenty brave fellows volunteered to attack them ; but they were soon forced to retire, and with some difficulty reached the main body. Another party of the enemy about this time who had arrived from below, attacked the guard left with the horses ; but they were driven back into the woods, on the arrival of the main body. Having recovered and mounted the horses, Turner commenced his march for Hatfield ; Holyoke, with a part of the force covering the rear. By this time the Indians from the east side of the river, had joined those at Smead's island, crossed over and were advancing on the left and rear of the English ; Holyoke received them with resolution, and often beat them back : in one of these conflicts his horse was shot down, on which the Indians rushed up to seize him, but drawing his pistols, he shot the foremost, which checked the others, and one of his men coming up to his aid, he escaped their grasp. By a captive, the English had been informed that Philip was at this time approaching with a thousand Indians. This, with several attacks in different directions, produced a panic among the men, and the main body at length fell into confusion, and separated into several parties under different leaders. A thickly covered morass, commencing in the vicinity of the falls, extended along the left flank of the retreating troops, nearly to Green river, affording a cover for the enemy. Attempting to cross this, one of the retreating parties was cut off by the Indians, who had previously gained it ;—another party got bewildered, and straggling from the direct course, was taken prisoners, and as afterwards ascertained, put to death by burning. Captain Turner at the head of the van, was much enfeebled by a previous sickness, and unable to act with his usual vigor, or, with his disordered troops, to afford aid to the rear ; at length, with much difficulty he reached Green river, where the enemy came up and attacked him as he was passing over, and he fell by a shot. Captain Holyoke, who then commanded, continued the retreat through the meadow bordering Green river, and crossing a pine plain, and Deerfield river, entered the meadow in that town, hard pressed

by the Indians, and after sustaining several warm attacks, arrived at Hatfield with the loss of thirty eight men.

Captain Turner was from Boston, and was noted as a brave officer. Owing to bodily weakness from his recent sickness, he could with difficulty manage his horse. Capt. Holyoke had been recently commissioned in the militia, and though he had seen little service, exhibited great skill as well as daring bravery throughout the day. The most fatal part of the retreat lay across the present town of Greenfield, to the north of the extended swamp, lying north of the old meeting house. Capt. Turner is supposed to have fallen in Greenfield meadow, near the mouth of the brook, on which now stands Nash's mill, where his body was afterwards found by a scouting party of English. The Indians followed Holyoke to the village now called the *Bars*, at the south end of Deerfield meadow.\*

A case of individual suffering occurred in this expedition which deserves notice. Mr. Jonathan Wells, of Hatfield, one of the twenty who remained in the rear when Turner began his march from the falls, soon after mounting his horse, received a shot in one of his thighs, which had previously been fractured and badly healed, and another shot wounded his horse. With much difficulty he kept his saddle, and after several narrow escapes, joined the main body just at the time it separated into several parties, as has been related. Attaching himself to one that was making towards the swamp on the left, and perceiving the enemy in that direction, he altered his route, and joined another party flying in a different direction. Unable to keep up with the party, he was soon left alone, and not long after fell in with one Jones, who was also wounded. The woods being thick and the day cloudy, they soon got bewildered, and Wells lost his companion; and after wandering in various directions, accidentally struck Green river, and proceeding up the stream, arrived at a place, since called the *country farms*, in the northerly part of Greenfield. Passing the river, and attempting to ascend an abrupt hill, bordering the in-

\* As the cataract where Turner cut off the Indians has not received an appropriate name, that of *Turner's Falls* is suggested, in commemoration of that officer, as well as for convenience. In a geological communication in *Silliman's Scientific Journal*, by the Rev. E. Hitchcock, the name is already adopted.



terval west, he fell from his horse exhausted. After lying senseless some time, he revived and found his faithful animal standing by him; making him fast to a tree, he again lay down to rest himself, but finding he should not be able to remount, he turned the horse loose, and making use of his gun as a crutch hobbled up the river, directly opposite to the course he ought to have taken. His progress was slow and painful, and being much annoyed by mosquitoes, towards night he struck up a fire, which soon spread in all directions, and with some difficulty he avoided the flames. New fears now arose; the fire, he conjectured, might guide the Indians to the spot, and he should be sacrificed to their fury. Under these impressions he divested himself of his ammunition, that it might not fall into their hands—bound up his thigh with a handkerchief, and staunching the blood, and composing himself as much as possible, soon fell into a sleep. Probably before this, he had conjectured that he was pursuing a wrong course, for in a dream he imagined himself bewildered, and was impressed with the idea that he must turn *down* the stream to find his home. The rising of the sun the next morning, convinced him that his sleeping impressions were correct—that he had travelled *from*, instead of *towards* Hatfield, and that he was then further from that place than the falls, where the action took place. He was now some distance up Green river, where the high lands closed down to the stream. Reversing his course, he at length regained the level interval in the upper part of Greenfield, and soon found a foot path which led him to the trail of his retreating comrades; this he pursued to Deerfield river, which, with much difficulty, he forded, by the aid of his gun; ascending the bank he laid himself down to rest, and being overcome with fatigue, he fell asleep; but soon awaking, he discovered an Indian making directly towards him, in a canoe. Unable to flee, and finding his situation desperate, he presented his gun, then wet and filled with sand and gravel, as if in the act of firing; the Indian leaving his own gun, instantly leaped from his canoe into the water, escaped to the opposite shore and disappeared. Wells now concluded he should be sacrificed by others, who he knew were but a small distance down the river; but de-

termining if possible to elude them, he gained an adjacent swamp, and secreted himself under a pile of drift wood. The Indians were soon heard in search of him, traversing the swamp in all directions, and passing over the drift wood; but lying close, he fortunately avoided discovery, and after they had given up the search and left the place, he continued his painful march through Deerfield meadows. Hunger now began to prey upon him, and looking about he accidentally discovered the skeleton of a horse, from the bones of which he gathered some animal matter, which he eagerly devoured, and soon after found a few birds eggs, and some decayed beans, which in some measure allayed the craviags of nature, and added to his strength. Passing the ruins of Deerfield at dusk, he arrived the next morning at Lathrop's battleground, at Bloody Brook, in the south part of Deerfield, where he found himself so exhausted that he concluded he must give up further efforts, lie down and die. But after resting a short time and recollecting that he was within about eight miles of Hatfield, his resolution returned, and he resumed his march over pine woods, then smoking with a recent fire; here he found himself in great distress from a want of water to quench his thirst, and almost despaired of reaching his approximated home. But once more rousing himself, he continued his route and about mid-day, on Sunday reached Hatfield, to the inexpressible joy of his friends, who had supposed him dead. After a long confinement, Mr. Wells' wound was healed, and he lived to an advanced age, a worthy member of the town.

The Rev. Hope Atherton, minister of Hatfield, also shared in the expedition under captain Turner, of which he went out chaplain. In the confusion of the retreat, he was separated from the troops and lost in the woods; after wandering at random until next morning, despairing of finding the route home, he came to the resolution of delivering himself to the enemy, and the next day approaching a party, by signs he offered himself as a prisoner; but, unaccountable as it may appear, they refused to receive him. When he approached and called to them, they fled from his presence and none offered to molest him, or discovered the least hostility; fear seemed rather

to predominate, and Mr. Atherton was left to his own fate. In this strange dilemma, he determined, if possible, to find the river, and follow it to Hatfield. This he effected, and after a devious march of several days, of uncommon fatigue, hunger and anxiety, was restored to his people. This singular conduct of the Indians, was attributed to some of their religious superstitions. Probably Mr. Atherton's dress indicated his profession; and having some knowledge of the sacredness of his office, these superstitious notions led them to consider him as a superior being.\*

In consideration of the important service rendered by the men who fought under captains Turner and Holyoke, the government of Massachusetts afterwards granted them and their successors, the township of Bernardston, at first called Fall-town.

The destruction of the enemy at the falls, was a heavy tax on the numerical force of Philip, and a serious embarrassment to his project for laying in supplies of provisions for future subsistence. But his resentment was roused, and he determined to retort upon the English the injuries he had sustained. On the 30th of May, six hundred Indians appeared at Hatfield, and rushed suddenly into the place, twelve unfortified buildings were immediately fired, and several palisaded dwelling houses violently attacked, and bravely defended by a few people. Part of the Indians pushed into the meadow and attacked the people at their labor; twenty five resolute young men crossed the river from Hadley, and rushing upon the Indians, killed five or six at the first discharge, and dashing on through their fire, broke and drove them back to the village, from which the whole body were at length forced to retire, without effecting a complete destruction of the place; but they drove off a large number of sheep and cattle. The Hadley volunteers lost five of their number, and the Indians twenty five.

Finding the enemy determined on devastating the upper towns on the Connecticut, the governments of Mas-

\* For the principal facts relating to the adventures of these two gentlemen, I am indebted to the appendix in "*Williams' Redeemed Captive*," by the Rev. John Taylor, who obtained his materials from an attested copy by Mr. Wells, given subsequently to the affair, and from a paragraph of a sermon, delivered by Mr. Atherton to his congregation, the sabbath after his return.

sachusetts and Connecticut, ordered forces to march for their protection. Major Talcot of Connecticut, with two hundred and fifty English and two hundred Mohegan and Pequot Indians, marched from Norwich through the *Wabaquasset* and *Nipmuck* countries, to Brookfield, destroying on his route the corn and deserted cabins of the Indians, and killing and capturing a considerable number. At Brookfield, he was to have been joined by a body of Massachusetts forces, from the eastern part of the colony, under captain HENCHMAN; but the latter being busily employed in various attacks upon the enemy lying about Lancaster, did not arrive in season, and Talcot pressed on to Northampton, where he took quarters about the eighth of June. On the route his troops suffered severely from a deficiency of provisions; from this circumstance, and the extent of country passed over, it has been distinguished by the name of the *long or hungry march*.

The arrival of Talcot's force at Northampton, was opportune; for at that time, the enemy had resolved on a grand effort against the English post at Hadley, then under the command of captain SWAIN. The attack was made early on the morning of the twelfth of June, by about seven hundred Indians. In the preceding night they approached the town, laid an ambuscade at the southern extremity, and advanced the main body towards the other, and at day light the attack was commenced with great spirit; but the English turning out, received them at the palisades. The Indians gained possession of a house at the north end of the street, and fired a barn, but were in a short time driven back with loss. The attack was renewed on other points, and the Indians though warmly opposed, appeared determined on carrying the place; but a discharge of a peice of ordnance checked their fury, and their ambuscade failing of its object, which was to attack the people who might be driven from the village, they drew off. Major Talcot, at Northampton, hearing the attack, hurried on, passed the river, and joining the Hadley forces, precipitated the Indians into the woods. Only two or three men were lost by the English; the enemy's was not ascertained.

A curious circumstance occurred in this attack. When the people were in great consternation, and rallying to

oppose the Indians, a man of a venerable aspect, differing from the inhabitants in his apparel, appeared, and assuming command, arrayed them in the best manner for defence, evincing much knowledge of military tactics; and by his advice and example, continued to animate the men throughout the attack. When the Indians drew off the stranger disappeared and nothing further was heard of him. Who the deliverer was, none could inform or conjecture; but by supposing, as was common at that day, that Hadley had been saved by its guardian angel. It will be recollected that, at this time, the two judges Whalley and Goffe, were secreted in the village, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Russel. The supposed angel was then no other than general Goffe, who seeing the village in imminent danger, put all at risk, left his concealment, mixed with the inhabitants, and animated them to a vigorous defence. Whalley being then superannuated, probably remained in his secluded chamber.\*

Not long after the repulse of the enemy at Hadley, captain Henshaw arrived with the Massachusetts forces, and formed a junction with those under Talcot. With this combined force, it was now determined to advance up the Connecticut towards Northfield, and drive the Indians from their fishing, and other stations, and destroy the stores they had collected in that quarter. The march was made in two columns, one on each side of the river; the Massachusetts forces on the east, and those of Connecticut on the west. The two columns reached *Turner's falls*, without seeing an Indian, and scouting parties tra-

\* Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts, as well as the historians who have followed him, fix the attack, in which Goffe appeared, on the first of September, 1675, when the people were assembled for public worship, on a fast day. But it does not appear from Hubbard's "*Narrative of the War*," published in 1677, that an attack was made on Hadley at the time stated by Hutchinson. On the 19th of October, 1675, he notices an attack on *Hatfield*, and as this town was then included within the limits of Hadley, it is possible this may be the period at which Goffe appeared, as stated in the text; and no other attack on Hadley is noticed by him, excepting that of July 12th. 1676; but neither of these dates will correspond with September 1st, 1675, given by Hutchinson. That Hubbard, who wrote his narrative from *facts collected during the war*, and published it immediately after, should have wholly omitted to notice an attack at the time mentioned by Hutchinson, would be extraordinary. Besides the accuracy of his narrative was attested by a committee, deputed to examine it, by the governor and council of Massachusetts in March, 1677; and they say the author "has faithfully and truly performed the same." From this view of the case then it is, at least probable, that Hutchinson as well as subsequent historians, have mistated the time when Goffe appeared in the attack on Hadley.

versed the country higher up the river; but none of the enemy were observed. Considerable quantities of fish and other articles of food, stored in cellars, were found and destroyed. Scouts also traversed the woods through which captain Turner retreated, after his attack at the falls; one of whom found the body of that unfortunate officer on the bank of Green river, where he fell as has been related. Several places were found, where the Indians glutted their vengeance, in torturing and burning the unfortunate men captured from Turner, and the fatal stakes, to which they had been tied, were still standing to mark the ferocity of the enemy. A heavy storm of rain commencing, the troops returned down the river. Talcot proceeded to the Narraganset country, capturing on his route large numbers of Indians. Nor was Henchman inactive on his return; he swept the woods on his route—destroyed the Indian lodges, and captured several parties that fell in his way. By these spirited exertions, the frontier towns on the Connecticut, were in some measure relieved from the incursions of the enemy; but the war continued to rage in the Plymouth quarter, to which Philip with a considerable force had now returned.

But before he left the northern quarter, the Mohawks commenced hostilities against his allied forces. The cause of the war with these Indians, is stated to have been the following. Philip having, in vain solicited the Mohawks to join him against the English, contrived a plan, which he flattered himself would effect his design. Meeting a small party of these people in the woods, to the westward of Connecticut river, he dispatched them, as he supposed, and reported that the murder was perpetrated by the English; one of the Indians who was supposed to be dead, so far recovered as to be able to return home, and inform his brethren who was the real perpetrator. The Mohawks were immediately roused to vengeance; and a force soon marched to New England, and falling on one of Philip's allied tribes, killed about fifty, and destroyed their haunt. This occurred prior to the attack at the falls by captain Turner.

Thus hunted and attacked in every direction, and straitened for provisions, the Indians became disheartened; large parties continued to return to Narraganset, and the

adjacent country, and many came in and surrendered to the English. But the war continued to rage in the Plymouth quarter, where the veteran captain Church, now performed the most gallant services. He penetrated the Indian country, destroyed their lodges, captured their women and children, killed their warriors, and spread desolation and terror, far and wide.

Philip, though unable to find a place of safety, still kept up his haughty spirit, and disdaining submission, continued his hostilities, with persevering energy. His allies who held out at the northward, were less active, and began to flee in various directions, and the people on Connecticut river, now found some respite from blood and carnage.

Major Talcot after his return from his expedition up the Connecticut, having recruited his force, was ordered to take a station at Westfield, in Massachusetts, and seize any opportunity that might offer, for attacking the fugitives. Not long after his arrival at that place, the trail of about two hundred Indians was discovered in the vicinity, shaping towards the Hudson. Talcot immediately took the trail, and pressed on to overtake the Indians, and on the third day, discovered them encamped on the west bank of Housatonic river, in the most perfect security. Being late in the day, he resolved to postpone an attack, until next morning, and drawing back, lay upon his arms in the most profound silence. Towards the dawn of day, forming his troops into two divisions, one to pass the river below the Indians, make a detour, and attack them in their rear, while the other was to approach by a direct route opposite to their camp, and open a fire across the river the moment the attack commenced on the opposite side. The plan was partially frustrated. One of the Indians left the camp in the night, and proceeded down the river for the purpose of taking fish, and as the troops who had crossed the river, as had been ordered, were advancing to the attack, he discovered them, and gave the usual cry, *Awanux! Awanux!* on which he was instantly shot. Talcot, now opposite to the Indian camp, hearing the report, instantly poured in a volley, as the Indians were rising from their slumbers. A complete panic ensued, and they fled in confusion into

the woods, followed by Talcot, and most who escaped the first fire, made good their retreat. The division below was too far distant to share in the victory. Twenty five Indians were left on the ground, and twenty were made prisoners, and among the former was the sachem of Quaboag. Talcot lost but one, and he a Mohegan.\*

Soon after this affair, most of the remaining Nipmuck, Nashaway, Hadley, Springfield, and Pocumtuck Indians fled from their stations, either to the Mohegannucks, on the Hudson, the Pennacooks, on the Merrimack, or to Canada, and a few joined the Schaghticoke, at the mouth of Hoosac river, in the province of New York.

Meanwhile the war continued in the south east quarter of New England, under the desperate Philip; but the gallant Church and other officers gave him little rest. He was hunted and driven from his covert places, his chief men, wife and children killed or captured, but he still continued firm, and secreting himself with a small force in the recesses of deep swamps, refused to submit. At length an Indian, whose brother had been shot by Philip for urging him to make peace, brought intelligence to captain Church, who was in Rhode Island, that the chief was in a swamp in mount Hope neck, and Church immediately resolved to try his skill upon him. With a small company of English, and a number of friendly Indians, accompanied by several volunteer officers, he passed over to the main, and conducted by the Indian who brought the intelligence, soon reached the swamp, in which Philip was posted, with a considerable force; but darkness had now commenced. Perfectly acquainted with the ground, Church formed his men in extended order, placing an Englishman and an Indian together, with orders to fire upon any who should attempt to escape from the swamp. Captain Golding, with a party, was to penetrate the swamp, and rouse Philip at the dawn of day. Having made this disposition of his troops, Church was giving further orders, when a shot whistled over his head, followed immediately after by a whole volley from Golding's party, on an advanced guard of the enemy, posted in the margin of the swamp. Day

\* This affair took place in the upper part of Sheffield, in Massachusetts, and the spot is well known to the inhabitants.



had now dawned, and Philip on the report of the guns, seized his *petunk*, powder horn, and gun, left the swamp, and ran towards two of Church's enclosing chain of men; an Englishman levelled his piece against him, but it missed fire; his accompanying Indian, more fortunate, with a quick sight, sent two balls through the body of the chief, one piercing his heart, which laid him dead upon the spot. The important intelligence, was immediately communicated to Church, but he kept it to himself, intending to make it known after the remaining enemy were driven from their cover. A terrific voice, immediately thundered from the swamp, *Iootash ! Iootash !* it was from Annawon, Philip's chief captain, calling to his men to maintain their ground. The English then rushed into the swamp, and charging closely, threw the Indians into confusion; Annawon, with about sixty of his followers, made their escape, but one hundred and thirty were killed and captured. After the affair was over, Church communicated to his troops, the death of Philip, and repaired to the spot where he lay. He had fallen upon his face, in a muddy spot of ground, from which he was drawn; the head taken off, and the body left to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus fell this great chief, in a struggle, which, had it been in favor of a civilized people, by a civilized commander, and attended with success, would have immortalized his name.

Remarking upon the fate of this chief, a historian says — "The death of Philip in retrospect, makes different impressions from what were made at the time of the event. It was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy; it is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war; it now awakens sober reflections on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked in the cruelty of the savage; a little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his

tribe; and made a mighty effort to prevent those calamities. Our pity for his misfortunes, would be still heightened, if we could rely on the tradition—‘that Philip and his old men were averse to the war; that Philip wept with grief, at the news of the first English who were killed; and that he was pressed into his measures by the irresistible importunity of his young warriors.’”\*

Annawon, Philip’s chief captain and counsellor, was now at the head of the hostile Indians. He was an artful and long experienced warrior, and had often declared that the English should not take him while alive. After the defeat at the swamp where his commander was killed, he with fifty or sixty of his best men, took post in Squannaconk swamp, in the southeast part of Rehoboth. Several Indians from his camp were soon after captured, among whom was an Indian, with his daughter. By these Church was informed of the situation of Annawon’s camp; and by a stratagem, which none but the most daring would have adopted, succeeded in capturing the whole without resistance. At the head of a small party, conducted by the captured Indian and his daughter, who it appears readily engaged in the attempt. Church, by a cautious approach in the evening, reached the edge of a rocky precipice, under which Annawon was encamped, and made a critical examination of the position. A tree had been felled close under the precipice, and boughs placed against it, to form a sort of hut; fires were burning near, pots and kettles boiling and spits turning, loaded with meat; the fire arms stood near the foot of the rock, resting upon a poll, supported by crotches and covered with a mat, to keep them dry; the Indians were separated into three parties at small distances, surrounded by a rude abbatis, and Annawon with his son lay reposing very near the arms.

Having viewed the camp sufficiently, Church and his party withdrew, and formed his plan for the surprise. Informed by his guide, that no one was allowed to go out, or enter the camp, except by the precipice, he determined to make his effort in that direction. The guide and his daughter, with baskets upon their backs, as if bringing in provisions, were directed to precede Church and his

\* Holmes, Vol. i. p. 434.

men, while the latter, close in the rear, and covered by the shadows of the guides, were to descend the rocks. The descent was found to be difficult, but by letting themselves down by the bushes, growing in the fissures of the rock, the party reached the bottom, without alarming the Indians. Church, with a hatchet in his hand, seized the arms at the feet of Annawon, who starting up on end, cried out, *Howah!* and despairing of an escape fell back in his couch. After the arms were secured, parties went to the other Indians, informing them their chief was a prisoner, and that if they would submit their lives should be spared; the whole readily complied with the terms, and all appeared cheerful. Church now enquired of Annawon what he had for supper; for said he, I have come to sup with you. The chief in a loud voice ordered his women to prepare one, and enquired of his conqueror whether he would choose *cow*, or *horse beef*; Church replied, *cow beef*, and the supper was soon prepared, and all ate heartily. After suitable guards were posted, the Indians lay down and Church attempted a short repose, near his captured chief; but neither slept; some time had elapsed in silence, when Annawon rose from his couch and slowly retired into the woods. Church, apprehensive of some hostile design, drew near to Annawon's son, and prepared for the worst. At length the chief returned with a pack, placed it on the ground, and falling on his knees, said—"Great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country—I believe that I, and my company, are the last who war against the English; I suppose the war is ended by your means"—Then opening the pack, he drew out a belt, curiously wrought with wampum in various figures, of flowers, birds and beasts, which, when hung upon the captain's shoulders, reached to his feet. Another belt of wampum was next taken out, wrought in the same manner, which was worn on the head of the warrior, hanging down the back, to which two flags appended, waving behind. A third, with a star, and edged with red hair, was taken out, which when hung upon the neck, descended to the breast. These, with two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket, constituting the royal dress of Philip, were presented to Captain Church, who, Anna-

wan said; had "won them, and he was happy in having an opportunity of delivering."\*

The remainder of the night was spent in free conversation, in which the captured chief recounted his various exploits in the present, as well as former wars under Philip's father. The next day Church marched his prisoners to Taunton, where he joined those that had been captured when Philip was killed, and had been ordered to that town. Annawon, with another chief, was perfidiously put to death at Boston, not long after. A few more exploits of captain Church, in which a number of the Indians were captured, and the few remaining tribes submitted, ended the war in this quarter.

In this predatory war, it is estimated that about six-hundred of the inhabitants of New England were either killed in battle, or otherwise cut off by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns entirely destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, consumed by fire.† Rarely was a family to be found, who had not lost some of its members, or relations. Dr. Trumbull estimates the loss much greater. "The histories of those times," he observes, "rarely mention the barns, stores and out houses, burned; and sometimes there is notice of the burning of part of a town, and of the buildings in such a tract, without a specification of the number. All the buildings in Narraganset, from Providence to Stonington, a tract of about fifty miles, were burned, or otherwise destroyed by the enemy; but the number is not mentioned—The loss of buildings must therefore have been much greater than has been mentioned." And he concludes, that about one fencible man in eleven was killed, and every eleventh family burnt out: or, that an eleventh part of the whole militia, and of all the buildings of the *United Colonies*, were swept off by the war.‡

The war, though attended with great loss on the part of the English, was not less disastrous to the Indians; for they not only lost great numbers, but their lodges were destroyed, and in short, their country conquered. Whether the contest might have been avoided by the English remains a question of doubtful solution. That

\* Church's History of Philip's war.

† Holmes, Vol. i. p. 435.

‡ History of Connecticut, Vol. i. pp. 350, 351.

they were averse to it, and had avoided any new cause of complaint on the part of the Indians, is obvious from a view of the history of prior events. The opinion therefore of many of the people of the present day, "*that the lands in New England, were taken from the natives by force, and that the war on the part of Philip was just* ; is to be embraced with some limitation. In most cases, the first settled towns were purchased of the sachems, residing at the places selected by the English. In many old towns, deeds given by them are now extant, containing considerations for the lands sold, though generally of little value. To prevent injustice, the purchasers were restricted by government. In Massachusetts none were allowed to take deeds of the Indians, excepting under certain conditions ; and Plymouth colony put similar checks upon their people. Governor Winslow in a letter dated Marshfield, May 1st. 1676, makes the following statement. " I think I can clearly say, that before the present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors : Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in straits, easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase, or receive of gift, any lands of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court, and a penalty of a fine of five pounds per acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet, they should be streightened, we ordered that mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of land in the Colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands. And our neighbors at Rehoboth and Swanzy, although they bought their lands fairly of this Philip and his father, and brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial fence quite across that great neck between the English and Indians, and paid due damage, if at any time any unruly horse or other beast broke in and trespassed. And for divers years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect, might be prevented) the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain sum

yearly, to maintain the said fence, and secure themselves. And if at any time they brought complaints before us, they had justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them our favor."\* One question only relating to the titles remains, and this is, whether the sachems who executed the deeds, possessed full power to transfer the lands? But this seems not to have been doubted at that time.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE termination of the war in the southern and western quarter of New England, relieved the inhabitants from a bloody enemy, and they soon re-occupied their abandoned settlements with the flattering hopes of enjoying them in peace and tranquility. But hostilities which had extended along the sea-coast into Main, still continued, and most of the settlements in that quarter, partook of the general calamity. The Massachusetts forces were now at liberty to turn their arms in that direction; and captains Sill and Hawthorn, with two companies were sent to Cocheco, where they joined major Waldron at that place. At this time about four hundred Indians had assembled in the vicinity of the major's house, part of whom were Pennacooks, who had agreed on terms of peace, but now began to shew a hostile spirit. Sill and Hawthorn were desirous of attacking them, but the major finally devised a plan to seize them by a stratagem. He proposed to the Indians a training, and sham fight the next day. With the forces he had with him, he was to join the two companies of Sill and Hawthorn, which were to form one party, and the Indians the other, and the latter agreed to the play. At the time appointed the parties met and Waldron, as commander, diverted them some time, and received their harmless fire; he then contrived to surround them, and closing in his troops, changed his delusive conduct, seized and disarmed the whole without the loss of a man. Wonalonset the chief,

\* Hubbard's Narrative.

with his Pennacooks, and others who had agreed on the peace, were released; the others being fugitives from Philip, were retained prisoners, to the number of about two hundred, and afterwards sent to Boston, and seven or eight of their leaders hanged; the remainder were sold into slavery in foreign parts. War still continued in the country farther east, and was attended with the loss of many lives and much property. But in the spring of 1678, a peace was concluded, and hostilities ceased in that quarter.

On Connecticut river, the settlers who had returned to their plantations, were still exposed to the exasperated enemy, who had fled from that part of the country, and they went to their labor with arms in their hands, under constant apprehensions of attacks; and an event soon occurred which evinced that these apprehensions were not groundless. On the 19th September, 1677, about fifty Indians who had descended Connecticut river, fell upon Hatfield, as the people were raising a house, killed and captured about twenty, including among the latter, several women and children. On their return up the river the same day, they halted in the woods, east of the site of Deerfield village, at which place several people were employed in rebuilding their houses, and detached a party to capture them. Entering the place at sunset, four men discovered the Indians, and fled to an adjacent swamp. John Root was fired upon and killed; serjeant Plympton, Quintin Stockwell and Benoni Stebbins were captured, bound and conveyed into the woods, where they joined the captives from Hatfield with the other Indians; and after a march of about three miles the whole halted, and encamped in a thickset wood. Early in the morning, resuming their march, they crossed the Connecticut near the mouth of Deerfield river, and crossing a second time at Turner's falls, continued the march to Northfield west meadow, where they encamped the next night. Apprehending that they might be pursued by the English, they again crossed the river, and soon after recrossed to the west side; and built a cabin, about thirty miles above Northfield,\* where they remained

\* The manner of passing the river is not given in the account from which that in the text was obtained. Probably part of the Indians ascended the river in light canoes, and kept up with the main body.

sometime. Meanwhile, a party proceeded to Wachuset hill in Massachusetts, to conduct a body of Indian women and children, from that place to the Indian camp. Stebbins, one of the Deerfield captives, accompanying the party, fortunately escaped, and regained his home. On their return from Wachuset, about eighty women and children belonging to the Indians, who had fled their country, were brought to the camp. In consequence of the escape of Stebbins, the prisoners were treated with severity, and threatened with burning at the stake.

After a halt of fourteen days, the march was continued up the Connecticut, about two hundred miles above Deerfield, to a small river, called by the Indians the *Squaromaug*, where they separated into two parties, and proceeded over the highlands to lake Champlain, which was then frozen; and after some delay among the islands, reached Sorrel, where was a small French garrison. On the march the prisoners suffered great hardships, and were often threatened with death. Serjeant Plympton was actually burnt at the stake, when near Chamblee, and one Dickinson, from Hatfield, was compelled to lead him to the fatal spot. The surviving prisoners were taken to the Indian lodges in the neighboring woods, or sold to the French.\*

About a fortnight after the capture of the people at Hatfield and Deerfield, another party of Indians made an attack upon a mill in the upper part of Hadley; but finding it defended by several spirited men, they drew off, beyond the reach of the shot—proposed a parley, and intimated that the prisoners taken at Hatfield, should be returned on certain conditions; but viewing their designs insidious, the defenders of the mill, continued their opposition and the assailants withdrew.

Finding the Indians still disposed to continue hostilities, the harrassed people of Deerfield once more abandoned the place, and retired to the lower towns. As these incursions were known to be made by the fugitive Indians from Connecticut river, and the prisoners carried to Canada, the suspicion that the French were giving them aid no longer remained doubtful.

\* During the march, provisions becoming short, the Indians collected the fungus, vulgarly called *touch wood*, growing upon trees, which was fried in bear's grease, and eaten for food.



Among the prisoners taken at Hatfield, were the wives of Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings. On learning that they had been conveyed to Canada, the husbands made application to the governor of Massachusetts for commissions, authorizing them to proceed to that country, to attempt their ransom. These being obtained, Wait and Jennings commenced the adventurous journey, on the twenty fourth of October, 1677; and proceeded through the woods by Albany, to Schenectady, with the design of engaging a Mohawk for a guide. While making preparations for the journey, they were seized by the Dutch people, whose jealousy seems to have been excited, and sent to the governor of New-York. Actuated by more generous feelings, his excellency granted them liberty to proceed on their journey; and they returned to Albany—engaged an Indian guide, and proceeded up the Hudson, thence through lake George to lake Champlain, carrying their canoe upon their backs over the portages; and about the sixteenth of December, embarked and proceeded down lake Champlain. Meeting with ice, they left the canoe and attempted to proceed on foot; but as the lake was but partially frozen, they were compelled to return for their canoe, which they dragged some distance over the ice, and again embarking, they after a difficult passage, arrived at Chamblee, a French village of ten houses. At Sorrel a few miles below, Mrs. Jennings and four other captives were found, at which place they had been left by the Indians, in pawn for liquor; the other captives were in the woods not far distant, still in possession of the Indians.

Unable to obtain the whole without authority from the French governor, Wait and Jennings proceeded to Quebec, and through his aid, ransomed the captives; but this was not accomplished without the payment of two hundred pounds to the Indians.

Having thus completed their business, the two gentlemen in the spring of 1678, set out on their return with the ransomed captives, and were generously furnished with a guard of French soldiers, by order of the governor. Their progress homewards was slow; sixteen days were spent on lake Champlain, partly in hunting to procure the necessary provisions; and in the early

part of the summer, they reached Albany, without any adverse accident. From that place, they proceeded by Kinderhook to Westfield, where they were met by their friends with horses, and conveyed to Hatfield, to the great joy of the inhabitants. Probably this was the first tour performed by New England people through the lakes, so often traversed for similar purposes in the subsequent wars, and which became the grand theatre of military operations between the French and English in later times.

Incursions on Connecticut river by the fugitive Indians, ended with the last attack on the mill at Hadley; but the Indians lay in the woods not far from the frontiers, and further incursions were apprehended; but in the latter part of the year, 1677, intimations were given, that they were ready to enter into a treaty of peace with the English. The opportunity was seized, and commissioners convened at Northampton, to treat with such sachems as should meet them at that place. Major Treat, then deputy governor of Connecticut, attended with a guard of forty men, to join in the treaty, or to aid the towns on Connecticut river, should the Indians continue hostilities. It appears that but few of the sachems were present at the convention; and to these, life, liberty and protection, and the enjoyment of the lands they should reoccupy were offered, provided they should remain subject to the English government, and deliver all captives in their possession. Little more was effected than the redemption of a few people, and the Indians were found unwilling to return to their old territory, and subject themselves to the laws of the English.

This year Massachusetts and Connecticut, attempted to negotiate a treaty of friendship with the Mohawks, in the province of New York, and to engage them in the war against the eastern Indians. Major Pyncheon of Springfield, and Mr. Richards of Hartford, were intrusted with the business, and they proceeded to the Mohawk country, and were civilly received; but no treaty appears to have been agreed on, further than to engage the sachems to invade the country of the eastern Indians. And not long after a party marched to Amoskeag falls and Gosheco, where they attacked and killed several of their

old enemy, against whom they entertained the most bitter hatred.

The Mohawks were allied to four other nations, or tribes, in the western quarter of the province of New York; and at this time, the whole force of the allied nations was estimated at two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men.\* The Tuscaroras afterwards joined the confederacy, making a sixth nation. By the French, the six nations were called *Iroquois*, and the Mohawks were known to the Dutch, by the name of *Maquaas*. The confederated nations were devoted to war and military glory, and held a sort of jurisdiction over many of the neighboring tribes; and in some instances received tribute from them. That they were hostile to Philip and his allies, was a most fortunate circumstance. Combined with him, the war would have been more distressing, if not fatal to the English.

Hostilities having ceased in New England, the planters once more returned to their deserted settlements on Connecticut river above Hatfield, and for sometime went on prosperously in rebuilding their houses, and enlarging their plantations. The northerly towns in the western part of Massachusetts, at this period, were Lancaster, Brookfield, Northfield and Deerfield; in New York, Albany and Schenectady. The latter was a favourable station for trafficking with the Indians in furs, brought down Mohawk river. For several years the settlements in New York, were principally confined to the Hudson and Mohawk; but the increase of population, from a variety of causes was slow. In 1678, that province contained but about twenty four towns, villages and parishes, and the militia did not exceed two thousand. In the city of New York were three hundred and forty three houses, and about three thousand four hundred and thirty inhabitants, and the place was protected by fort *James*, a square work with stone ramparts and bastions, mounting forty six guns.

The French about this time penetrated the country ly-

\* The number of warriors in each tribe was as follows: Mohawks, three hundred—Oneidas, two hundred—Onondagoes, three hundred and fifty—Cayugas, three hundred—Senekas, one thousand.

Holmes, (quoted from Chalmers,) Vol. i. p. 144.

ing on the waters of the great western lakes, and erected fortifications at Frontenac and Michilimackinac. In 1678, a bark of ten tons was launched on lake Ontario, and the following year, another of sixty tons on lake Erie, and a temporary fortification was erected at Niagara. The next year, M. de Salle built a fort on the river Illinois; and in 1680, father Hennepin, ascended the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois, to the falls of St. Anthony; from which place to its mouth, the river was traversed in 1682, by Salle, and the country taken possession of, in the name of the king of France; but it had previously been explored by Marquette and Joliet in 1673, and seen by a party sent by Col. Wood of Virginia, in 1654, who descended the Ohio to its mouth.

Flattering as were the prospects of New England on the conclusion of the war with the Indians, the frontier settlements did not long remain in tranquility. The abdication of king James and the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England in 1689, was followed by a war between that country and France, which soon extended to their provinces in America, and a scene of blood and slaughter was again to open.

Through the machinations of the baron Castine, difficulties had arisen with some of the eastern Indians, who in 1688, committed depredations at North Yarmouth. The seizure of the Indians by Major Waldron was not forgotten. Some who had been sold into slavery abroad, had found means to return home, and with impatience awaited an opportunity to revenge themselves. A confederacy was formed by the Pennacooks and Pigwackets, and some others, to surprise Waldron and his neighbors at Dover. The place was then defended by five garrisoned houses, situated on each side of the river, in which the people generally secured themselves in the night. But as the Indians were frequently in the town for the purpose of trading with the people, no suspicions were entertained of their hostile plan, and the guards had become very remiss.

The night of the twenty seventh of June, was chosen for carrying their plan into execution. In the evening two Indian women were admitted into several of the garrisoned houses, which gave them an opportunity of ob-

serving the manner in which the gates were opened. They informed major Waldron that a number of Indians would arrive the next day to trade with him; and an Indian then at the house, hospitably entertained, said to the major, while at supper, "Brother, what would you do, if the strange Indians should come." Waldron replied, that he would assemble one hundred men by the motion of his hand. No suspicions however were excited by these insinuations, and the family retired to repose. In a short time a large body of Indians entered the town; Waldron's gate was opened, and they rushed into his room. Springing from his bed, and seizing his sword, he drove them back, but as he was returning for his gun, he was stunned by the stroke of a hatchet—drawn into his hall, and seating him in a chair, they asked, "who shall judge Indians now?" They then proceeded to torment him, by cutting his body and face in the most horrid manner; and at length despatched him, took the other people, pillaged the house, and set it on fire. Several other houses were surprised, and burnt, and the people captured, while others were effectually defended. The Indians at length left the town, having captured twenty nine, and killed twenty three people, and excepting those killed on the route, were carried to Canada, and sold to the French. Additional forces were soon after sent to this quarter, under majors Church and Swain, and several skirmishes took place; but the enemy committed other depredations. Hucking's fort at Oyster river, was taken and burnt, and most of the people killed. On the commencement of winter, their fury abating, the English returned home.

Count Frontenac, the governor of Canada, now determined to push hostilities with vigor; and Schenectady, Salmon falls and Casco, were next to sustain the shock. In the winter of 1690, he detached three parties of French and Indians to sack those places. That against Schenectady was attended with peculiar barbarity. The attack was made in the night of the eighth of February, by about three hundred; and as the gates had been left open, they entered without opposition. Dividing into several parties, they assaulted the houses in all directions—set them on fire, or broke the doors and dragged the people

from their beds—murdering the women and casting the children into the flames, and dashing them against the posts of the doors. Having completed their work of destruction, and plundered the place, they commenced their march for Canada. Sixty persons perished by the hands of the enemy; twenty seven were carried off, and the rest fled naked towards Albany through a deep snow, which fell that night; twenty five of whom lost their limbs through the severity of the weather. A party of young men from Albany, joined by a few Mohawks, pursued and captured twenty five. The enemy were commanded by D. Aillebout, De Mantel, and Le Moyne, French officers, from whom less barbarity should have been expected. It should be remembered, however, that the Indians were not easily restrained; probably a considerable proportion, consisted of those who had been driven from New England, at the close of Philip's war, and still retained their resentment against the people of the New England colonies, without discriminating between their old enemy, and the frontier people, in the province of New York.

The expedition against Salmon falls, was commanded by Sieur Hertel, who effected his object with less barbarity. With fifty two French, and twenty five Indians, from Trois Rivières, he surprized the place at day break, on the eighteenth of March. The fortified houses were sometime defended with spirit, but at last compelled to surrender at discretion. About thirty people were killed, and fifty four made prisoners, the greater part of the latter, women and children. After plundering and burning the place, Hertel retired and was pursued by one hundred and forty men, collected from the vicinity. At Wooster's river, a warm contest took place, which lasted until night, with the loss of several on each side. Hertel on his march to the northward, met the third party, who were from Quebec; and joining their forces, they proceeded to Casco, and destroyed the fort and settlement at that place. On their return to Canada, an English prisoner, one Robert Rogers, endeavouring to escape, was retaken and most barbarously burnt to death, and several children were murdered on the march. One of the captives, by the name of Toogood, made his escape in the follow-

ing manner. While one of the Indians, holding his gun under his arm, was preparing to bind him, Toogood wrenched it from him, and stepping backwards, with the gun presented, kept the Indian from approaching, and at length escaped into the woods, and got safe to Coheco; the Indians afterwards called him *Nogood*.

Several other incursions were not long after made into the eastern quarter, in which, many people were killed and some houses burnt.

In July the same year, two companies under captains Wiswall and Floyd, being on a scout, discovered and followed a trail of Indians, and coming up with them at Wheelwright's pond, in the present town of Lee, in New Hampshire, a severe engagement ensued for three hours. Both parties drew off—Wiswall, Floyd, serjeant Walker and twelve privates were killed, and several wounded. A short time after this affair, about forty people were killed between Lamprey river and Amesbury.

Roused by these barbarities, New England and New York, resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada, and the French posts in Acadie. In 1690, a force accordingly embarked in eight small vessels, sailed to Port Royal, and captured the place without opposition. A naval force with a body of land troops, under sir William Phipps, proceeded up the St. Lawrence, and attempted to capture Quebec. The troops landed with some difficulty and the place was summoned to surrender; but a reinforcement from Montreal, entering it, the attempt was given up, and Phipps returned to Boston, with the loss of several vessels, and a considerable number of troops. In the mean time a land army under general John Winthrop, consisting of about one thousand Connecticut and New York troops, marched from Albany to the falls on Wood creek, in the present town of Fort Ann, with the design of penetrating to Montreal, through lake Champlain; but being disappointed by the failure of a body of Mowhawks who were to join him at Wood creek, and in not receiving a sufficient number of batteaux and canoes, for the passage of the lake, and provisions for the troops—added to which, sickness prevailed among the men; Winthrop, by the advice of a council of officers, ordered the army back to Albany, and the expedition ended.

Though much disappointed at the failure of the expedition against Canada, the northern colonies continued their measures of defence; and scouting parties were kept out on the frontiers. In the summer of 1691, major Peter Schuyler of Albany, collecting three hundred Mohawks, passed lake Champlain, and penetrating to La Prairie, engaged eight hundred French troops under De Callieres, and after a severe conflict, killed about three hundred, a number equal to that of his own. The loss of the French was attributed to their ignorance of the Indian mode of fighting under cover of trees, and exposing themselves in a body, in the open ground.

Irritated by the repeated attempts on his province, Frontenac now let loose his Indians upon every quarter of New England, and depredations soon commenced on the western part of Massachusetts. In August 1692, the Indians appeared at Brookfield—entered several houses in the day time, and killed and plundered many people. The chief sufferers were the families of Wolcott, Mason and Lawrence. A company from Springfield under captain Colton, soon arrived at the place, and following the enemy in the night, attacked them at break of day, under cover of a sort of abbatished fort and killed fourteen on the spot; the others fled, leaving Daniel Lawrence, and Mrs. Mason, two of the prisoners, several guns, powder horns and blankets.

The next year incursions commenced on Connecticut river at Deerfield. On the sixth of June, eight people were killed or wounded of the families of Wells and Broughton; and in October, Martin Smith was taken from that place, and carried to Canada.

The Mohawks, who had taken part in the war with the English colonies, received a severe blow in the early part of the year 1693. An army of six or seven hundred French and Indians, left Montreal in the month of January, and after a tedious march of twenty two days, through frost and snow, attacked and carried three castles on the Mohawk river, above Schenectady—killed and captured about three hundred men, women and children, with the loss of thirty of their own army, and commenced their march for Canada. On the receipt of this intelligence at Albany, colonel Schuyler, with two hundred men, marched



in pursuit of the enemy, and being joined by a body of Mohawks, overtook them and several warm skirmishes ensued. Captain Syms, with eighty regular troops, joined Schuyler on the nineteenth of February, with a supply of provisions; but the enemy had renewed their march in a snow storm, and gained some distance. Schuyler, as soon as possible, pressed on and retook about fifty of the captured Mohawks, and probably would have made a decisive attack, had not the main body of the enemy escaped over a narrow piece of ice, stretching across the north branch of the Hudson, then open, except at that point. Schuyler's Indians were so pressed for food, that they are said to have fed upon the dead bodies of the enemy, who on their march home, suffered not less severely, and sustained life by devouring their shoes. Their whole loss in the expedition, was about eighty killed and thirty wounded. The following year, 1694, a force under M'Castreen, attacked the fort at Deerfield, and were repulsed. Mrs. Beamont, who kept a school out of the fort, and her scholars, escaped narrowly from the enemy. As they fled towards the fort, they received a sharp fire from a contiguous swamp, but all escaped without a wound. John Beamont and Richard Lyman, of the garrison, were wounded, and Daniel Severance, a lad, was killed in the adjacent meadows.

A more disastrous incursion was this year made upon a settlement at Oyster river, in New Hampshire. On the seventeenth of July, the Sieur de Villieu, with two hundred and fifty Indians of the St. John's, Penobscot and Norridgewock tribes, attended by a French priest, approached the place, and halted near the falls. Here he formed his Indians into two divisions, for the purpose of occupying each side of the river, and planting small parties near every house, to be ready to attack about sunrise the next morning. John Dean, whose house stood near the falls, rising early was shot as he came out of his door, which disconcerted the plan of the enemy, as several of the parties had not gained their positions, and the people had time to flee to their fortifications, and prepare for defence. Twelve garrisoned houses were soon attacked, five of which were carried, while most of the defenceless houses were set on fire, and the people either

killed or captured ; but several others were bravely defended against all the efforts of the enemy. At length, apprehending that the people of the neighboring towns would be upon them, Villieu retired from the place, having killed and captured nearly one hundred persons. One house was artfully defended by Thomas Bickford. It was situated near the river and was enclosed by a palisade. On the approach of the enemy he sent off his family in a boat, shut the gate, and when the enemy arrived, kept up as frequent a fire as possible, shewing himself occasionally in a different dress, at different parts of his fort, and rejecting the promises of the enemy to give him quarter, by which he impressed them with a belief that the house was defended by a number of brave people. During the various attacks, the French priest took possession of the meeting house, and diverted himself with writing upon the pulpit with chalk ; but the house received no damage.\* A few other incursions, in which Groton, Exeter, and the settlements on the Pisquataqua, suffered some loss, closed the operations of the enemy this year.

On the 18th of August, 1695, a party of people on their return from Hatfield to Deerfield, were fired upon by a party of Indians secreted under a bridge in the southerly part of Deerfield meadow, and Joseph Barnard was mortally wounded, but brought off to the fort, through the bravery of Godfrey Nims, one of the party.†

In the month of September, the next year, two men Gillet and Smead, out from Deerfield in pursuit of game on Green river, in the present town of Greenfield, were surprised by the Indians, and the former captured, but the latter fortunately escaped. The enemy then pushed on to the village of Deerfield, took Daniel Belding, a son and daughter—killed his wife and three children, and wounded two others. Samuel, one of the latter, received a hatchet in his head, which fractured the skull, and though a portion of his brains was discharged from the wound, he recovered.

During this year no other important depredations were committed on the settlements upon Connecticut river ; but

\* Belknap, Vol. ii. p. 270.

† The bridge since known by the name of *Indian bridge*, is a small distance south of Stebbins' Mills.

several attacks were made on the eastern towns. One man was killed at Coheco. On the twenty sixth of June, an attack was made at Portsmouth plain; five houses were assaulted and fourteen people killed, one scalped, who recovered, and four captured. After burning the houses, the enemy retreated through the *great swamp*, and were pursued by a company under captain Shackford, and found at breakfast at a place since called *Breakfast-hill*. Pushing on, he retook the captives and plunder, and dispersed the Indians. On the twenty sixth of July, three people were killed, and the same number wounded, and three captured at Dover, as they were returning from public worship.

While these predatory parties were thus harrassing New England, the French in Canada, turned their main force against the five nations. Frontenac collected his regular force and militia, and a large body of Indians at Montreal, and on the seventh of July, he left la Chine with his army, on board of batteaux and canoes, for Cadaroqui. The van was commanded by de Callieres, consisting of two battalions of regulars, conveying two light peices of cannon, some mortars, and the requisite ammunition, preceeded by a body of Indians; the provision boats, and Frontenac's household, with a number of volunteers and four battallions of militia, under de Ramezia, composed the centre; and two battalions of regulars, and a body of Indians constituted the rear, under the chevalier de Vaudrueil. Scouts were kept some distance from the front of the army. Twelve days were spent on the voyage to Cadaroqui, a distance of about one hundred and eighty miles; from which the army proceeded to Oswego, and thence up Onondaga river; fifty men flanking on each side. On arriving at Onondaga lake, the enemy divided, and coasting each side, landed at the south end, and built a small fort. The count then advanced in order of battle, towards the chief village of his enemy, where was a strong castle, himself carried in an elbow chair, in the rear of the artillery.

The Indians had discovered the advance of their enemy, and sent off their women and children, with a determination of defending the castle; but alarmed at the dreadful artillery, they fired their cabins, and fled into the woods. The French, on reaching the place, found only a venera-

able sachem of one hundred years, who was put to death with the usual barbarity of the Indians. To one who first stabbed him with a knife, he said "you had better make me die by fire, that these French dogs may learn how to suffer like men: You Indians, their allies—you dogs of dogs, think of me when you are in the like condition."\*

Frontenac now ordered the cornfields and every article of value, to be destroyed; and detached Vaudrueil with his command to destroy a castle of the Oneidas, which was effected and thirty five of those Indians captured. After this trifling success, the army returned to Montreal with the loss of several batteaux, cut off by the pursuing Onandogas. The expedition was conducted with skill, but was necessarily tardy, and little benefit resulted to the French. Parties of the irritated enemy, soon after made incursions in the vicinity of Montreal.

In 1697, the enemy directed their incursions towards the towns east of Connecticut river. On the tenth of June, they approached Exeter, and secreted themselves, intending to attack the place the next morning, but were frustrated by the following circumstance. A few women and children, contrary to the advice of their friends, went out to the fields to gather strawberries; fearful that they might be cut off by Indians, a few guns were fired, to alarm them, which brought the people of the town together with their arms. The Indians supposing themselves discovered, rushed on, killed one, wounded another, took a child and left the place precipitately. In July, major Frost of Kittery, was killed in an ambuscade of Indians.

On the eleventh of September, a body of Indians fell upon Lancaster, killed about twenty people, among whom was Mr. John Whiting, minister of the town; captured five, two or three houses were burnt, and several old people consumed. The enemy were pursued by captain Brown and fifty men, but night coming on, he returned without engaging them.

The peace of Ryswick was signed in September, and

\* The fortitude with which the Indians of the five nations endured the most exquisite torments of their enemy, has been reiterated by historians, and instances are related surpassing belief. Allowance no doubt must be made for exaggeration, but with this, their endurance exceeds conception.

proclaimed in Boston the tenth of December, which closed the war between England and France; but the Indians still continued their hostilities against the English colonies. Early in 1698, seven of the inhabitants of Andover were killed, others taken and several houses burnt. Among the killed was captain Chubb, against whom the Indians had entertained the highest resentment, for some alledged cruelty committed by him, not long prior, at fort Pemaquid. On their retreat from the place, the Indians apprehending they were pursued by a strong force, in their hurry suffered the prisoners to escape, among whom were colonel Bradstreet and his family.

On the retreat of the enemy they committed depredations at Haverhill. And in the month of March, another party attacked that place, burnt nine houses, and killed and captured about forty people. Among the prisoners, was Mrs. Hannah Dustan, who had recently lain in, and her infant and nurse. Her children had escaped from the house on the first approach of the Indians, and their father who was at labor in his field, came to their assistance; and by placing himself in their rear, receiving and returning the fire of the enemy, conducted them to a place of safety. A small party carried off Mrs. Dustan, the nurse and the infant; the latter they soon dispatched; and after several days of tedious travelling, they arrived at an island situated at the junction of the Contoocook and Merrimac rivers, where the prisoners were compelled to run the gauntlet, according to the Indian custom. The party now consisted of an Indian family of two men, three women and seven children, besides an English lad, who had been with them sometime.

At night the whole retired to rest, without a watch, and a little before day Mrs. Dustan rose from her couch, and finding the Indians in a sound sleep, waked the nurse and boy, whom she engaged to aid her, and seizing the hatchets, fell resolutely upon the Indians, and dispatched all excepting a boy, and one old woman who escaped, after being severely wounded. Taking off the scalps, and embarking in a canoe, they paddled down the river, and at length arrived safely at Haverhill. A reward of fifty pounds was granted to the heroine, by the general court of Massachusetts, and many valuable

presents were made to her by individuals. The brave act was the topic of conversation throughout the country.\*

About the middle of July, a short time before sunset, a small party of Indians killed a man and boy in Hatfield meadow, on Connecticut river, and captured two lads, Samuel Dickinson and one Charley—put them on board of canoes and proceeded up the river. The intelligence being received at Deerfield, thirteen miles above, twelve men were detached from that place, to intercept the Indians. Proceeding about twenty miles, they selected a favorable spot, on the right bank of the river, and lay till morning, when they discovered the Indians coming up near the opposite bank with the captured lads, in two canoes. Carefully marking their objects, the whole party gave the Indians an unexpected fire, by which one was wounded; the others, with one of the lads, leaped from the canoes, and gained the shore; they then attempted to kill the lads, but receiving another well directed fire, they fell back, on which the lad on shore joined his companion in the canoe, and both escaped across the river to their deliverers. Five or six of the party then embarked with the design of seizing the other canoe, which at this time had lodged on an island a little below; two Indians who lay secreted not far distant, fired and killed Nathaniel Pomroy, one of the party. The Indians then retired into the woods, and the English returned to Deerfield. The place where this exploit happened, is a short distance above the mouth of Ashuelot river, where the Connecticut makes a remarkable flexure, at the present town of Vernon, in Vermont.

Count Frontenac declining further aid to the Indians in a war with the English colonies, with which his nation was now at peace, and advising them to bury the hatchet, they agreed on a treaty of peace at Casco, on the seventh of January, 1699; but very few of the English captives were restored. Thus ended the contest, which at the time was denominated *king William's war*, the first that took place between the English and French colonies in America; during which, the people on the frontiers of the former, suffered most severely.

\* By some historians this exploit is said to have happened in 1697; Hutchinson places it in 1698.

In the province of Maine, attacks of the enemy had been frequent and cruel, during the war; but at length, they were checked by a body of forces sent by Massachusetts, under major Benjamin Church, the hero of the former war, who to the reputation he had sustained as a partisan, at the head of small corps, added that of an able commander of more numerous forces. So severely pressed were the eastern Indians in 1693, that they consented to terms of peace; but this was evidently designed to gain a little respite, for they soon after renewed hostilities, and devastated the country in every direction. In 1697, fort William Henry, at Pemaquid, was besieged by the French and Indians; taken and demolished. This year the country on the sea board was alarmed by an expected French naval force, to co-operate with a land army from Canada, intended to sweep the coast, from the eastern settlements to New York. The fleet actually arrived at Placentia, in Newfoundland, under M. de Nesmond, an officer of reputation; but owing to adverse causes, the French gave up the grand project. The peace of Ryswick and that at Casco, with the Indians, restored the eastern country to tranquillity.

The province of Connecticut, covered by those of New York and Massachusetts, was not immediately exposed to the ravages of the enemy; but it often furnished forces for the defence of the settlements on the Connecticut in the latter province, one company of which was for sometime posted at Deerfield, then the frontier on the river.

In the course of the war, the governor of Canada attempted to draw off the five nations from their alliance with the English, and so far succeeded as to induce them to send deputies to Canada, for the purpose of making peace; but the project proved abortive through the exertions of the English. Convinced of the importance of retaining them on their side, in 1694, the New England colonies, with New York and New Jersey, persuaded them to meet commissioners at Albany, to confirm their friendship, and they were found firmly attached to the cause of the English—loaded with presents and dismissed.

The commissioners who attended the treaty, were gov-

ernor Fletcher, of New York ; Andrew Hamilton, governor of New Jersey ; Col. John Pynchon, Samuel Sewell, Esq. and major Pen Townsend, of Massachusetts, and Col. John Allen, and captain Caleb Stanly of Connecticut. President Wadsworth, of Harvard college, who was then a minister of Boston, accompanied the Massachusetts and Connecticut commissioners, and Capt. Wadsworth of Hartford, commanded a guard of sixty dragoons. As the state of the country at that time, will appear from president Wadsworth's journal, the following is selected.

" At Ousetannuck, (Stockbridge) formerly inhabited by Indians," they lodged one night ; and kept sabbath in Kinderhook, where were about twenty families, " the houses in three parcels, with two forts. They passed Greenbush, a place so called from the pine woods, in the vicinity. Albany is thus described. " The town itself though small, is yet very compact. It is almost quadrangular, though the fortification that does surround it, is rather triangular. The east side of the town lies close upon the west side of Hudson's river ; so close, that in some places the water toucheth the fortification, and is no where distant from it, above two or three hundred rods or thereabouts. The town is encompassed with a fortification, consisting of *pine-logs*, the most of them a foot through or more. They are hewed on two sides, and set close together, standing about eight or ten foot above ground, sharpened at the tops. There are six gates ; two of them on the east, to the river, three north, one south. There are five block houses ; two north, by two of the forementioned gates, and three south. The town, especially the west side of it, lies upon the ascent of a hill. The fortification ends as it were in a point at the top of the hill ; on which stands the fort, in which are four flankers, the northwest flanker is built with stone, the rest with wood. In this fort, there are fifteen or sixteen great guns, mounted. In the town there are three streets, of a considerable breadth and straightness ; two of them are parallel with the river, the third comes directly from the fort down to the lowermost of the two former streets ; and where these two streets do thus meet, stands their church. The houses are built generally low ; but very few of them have an



upright chamber. The lower rooms are built high. The houses are generally covered with tile, and many houses themselves are built with brick." He mentions "Ranslaer's island upon the river, about half a mile below the town, containing about one hundred and sixty acres of good, level, fertile, arable land—a very curious farm it is." On their return home, the Massachusetts commissioners passed "Claverack a small place, containing only a few scattered farm houses, with a fort." Woodbury in Connecticut, was a small town, "the houses scattering, containing about forty families. Waterbury, a small town though very compact; it consisted of twenty five families." The remainder of the route was through Farmington, Hartford, Woodstock and Mendon.\*

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## CHAPTER X.

AMID the distresses under which the New England colonies labored from the war with the French and Indians, others of a different, though not much less destructive nature, opened upon the people of Salem in Massachusetts, in the year 1692, as was then supposed from the "invisible world," and threw the country into great consternation. Strange as it may appear in an age of science, and its consequent light, a majority of the leading as well as the common people, in all parts of the country, seriously and firmly entertained the belief, that many of their neighbors were afflicted with demons, and so wrought upon by invisible spectres, as to pine, languish and die, under excruciating torments. The delusion, probably, was coeval with the first settlements of the country, for a law had early been enacted, in Massachusetts, making the imaginary crime of witchcraft capital.

The first trial that occurred, was at Springfield, about 1645, where several persons were accused of the crime, among whom were two children of the minister of the place, and great efforts were made to prove them guilty; but they were at last acquitted.† In 1648, Margaret

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. ii. p. 22.

† Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. ii. p. 22.

Jones was indicted, found guilty, and executed at Charlestown, for the pretended crime; and in 1652, Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, being indicted for the same crime, was found guilty by the jury; but the magistrates, it seems, were not wholly converted to the doctrine of prestigious agency, and refused to consent to the verdict. The case came before the general court, and he was finally declared not guilty. About this time a woman at Dorchester, and another at Cambridge, were put to death for the crime; and not long after, the demons began their work in Boston, and Ann Hibbins, one of their pupils, was condemned and executed.

Details of the whole of the cases that occurred in New England, would tire the patience of the reader, and present a scene too disgusting for relation. Some of the most prominent, and such as will exhibit the nature of the delusion, in various parts of the country, will be noticed.

From Boston, the invisibles winged their way to Hartford in 1662, and tried their arts upon one Ann Cole; who living in the vicinity of a Dutch family, had learned a little of their language, with which the demon, seem to have been acquainted. With her the spirits held correspondence, sometimes in English, and at others in Dutch. Dr. Cotton Mather, who was very fertile in stories of witchcraft, in which he was a believer, gives the following statement of this affair. "Several eminent ministers wrote speeches of the spirits, thus heard in the mouth of Ann Cole, who was brought before the magistrates. The ministers now reading to her what they had written, she with astonishment, confessed that the things were so; and that she with other persons named in their papers, had familiarity with a devil. She said she had not made a formal covenant with her devil, but only promised that she would go with him when he called for her, which she had several times done accordingly; and that he told her that at Cristmas they would have a merry meeting, and then the agreement between them should be subscribed. She acknowledged the day following, that when the ministers began to write what they did, she was in such a rage, that she could have torn them to pieces, and was resolved upon the denial of her guilt; but

after they had read awhile, she was as if her flesh were pulled from her bones, and she could not longer deny what they charged upon her. She declared that the devil appeared unto her, first in the shape of a deer, skipping about her, and at last proceeded so far as, in that shape, to talk with her; and that the devil had frequently carnal knowledge of her.\* The raving girl was afterwards tried, condemned and executed.

The prestigious spirits returned to Massachusetts in 1671. At Groton they tormented Elizabeth Knapp; but the poor woman does not appear to have inflicted torments upon any of her neighbors, nor was she indicted for the crime.

During Philip's war the demons seem to have suspended their operations, Perhaps they were "driven into the American deserts, raging there in very tragical instances."† But the war having terminated, the invisibles renewed their warfare. At Newbury, in 1679, the house of William Morse was infested in "a most horrid manner." The house of Nicholas Desborough at Hartford, next felt the fury of the wandering demons, and after many attacks, "no little part of Desborough's property was consumed." Portsmouth was next beset, and the house of George Walton much deteriorated. Stacks of hay were taken up and hung upon trees, and others made into small wisps and scattered about; but no hanging seems to have been the consequence of this wonderful affair.

At Salmon falls, in 1682, the wife of Antonia Hortado was alarmed by a voice at the door, "*what do you here*"?—and "about an hour after, she received a blow on her eye, that almost spoiled her." The woman and her husband afterwards crossing a river in a canoe, saw "*the head of a man, and about three feet off, the tail of a cat, swimming before them, on which they paddled back.*" Many other extraordinaries took place, but fortunately no hanging.

A more disastrous affair happened in Hadley, on Connecticut river, in 1684. This shall be given in the exact language of Dr. Cotton Mather. "Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty years, a son of eminently virtuous parents,

\* Magnalia, Vol. 2. Book, 6.

†As Dr. Mather supposes was sometimes the case. Vol. ii. book 7.

a deacon of a Church in Hadley, a member of the General Court, a justice in the country court, a selectman for the affairs of the town, a lieutenant of the troop, and which crowns all, a man for devotion, sanctity, gravity, and all that was honest exceeding exemplary. Such a man was in the winter of the year 1684, murder'd with an hideous witchcraft, that filled all those parts of New England with astonishment. He was by his office concerned about relieving the indigence of a wretched woman in the town, who being dissatisfied at some of his just cares about her, expressed herself unto him in such a manner, that he declared himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving mischief at her hands.

“ About the beginning of January he began to be very valetudinarious, laboring under pains that seemed Ischiatick. The standers by could now see in him, one ripening apace for another world, and filled with grace and joy to an high degreee. He shewed such weanedness from, and weariness of the world, that he knew not (he said) whether he might pray for his continuance here; And such assurance he had of the Divine love unto him, that in raptures he would cry out, *Lord stay thy hand, it is enough, it is more than thy frail servant can bear.* But in the midst of these things he still uttered an hard suspicion that the ill woman who had threatened him, had made impressions with enchantments upon him. While he remained yet of a sound mind, he very sedately, but very solemnly charged his brother to look well after him. Though, he said, he now understood himself, yet he knew not how he might be. But be sure (said he) to have a care of me; for you shall see strange things. There shall be a wonder in Hadley!—I shall not be dead, when tis thought I am!—He pressed this charge over and over; and afterwards became delirious; upon which he had a speech incessant and voluable, and (as was judged) in various languages. He cry'd out, not only of pains, but also of pins, tormenting him in several parts of his body; and the attendants found one of them.

“ In his distress, he exclaimed much upon the woman aforesaid, and others, as being seen by him in the room; and there was divers times, both in that room, and over the whole house, a strong smell something like musk,

which once particularly so scented an apple roasting at the fire, that it forced them to throw it away. Some of the young men in the town, being out of their wits at the strange calamities thus upon one of their most beloved neighbors, went three or four times to give disturbance unto the woman thus complained of; and all the while they were disturbing her, he was at ease, and slept as a weary man: yea, these were the only times that they perceived him take any sleep in all his illness.\* Gally pots of medicines, provided for the sick man, were unaccountably emptied: and audible scratchings were made about the bed, when his hands and feet lay wholly still, and were held by others. They beheld fire sometimes on the bed; and when the beholders began to discourse of it, it vanished away. Divers people actually felt something often stir in the bed, at a considerable distance from the man: it seemed as big as a cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the bed's head, though the sick man lay wholly still, the bed would shake so as to knock their heads uncomfortably. A very strong man could not lift the sick man to make him lie more easily, though he apply'd his utmost strength unto it; and yet he could go presently and lift a bed-stead and bed, and a man lying on it, without any strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies: the jury that viewed his corpse, found a swelling on one breast, his privities wounded or burned, his back full of bruises, and several holes that seemed made with awls. After the opinion of all had pronounced him dead, his countenance continued as lively as if he had been alive; his eyes closed as in a slumber, and his nether jaw not falling down."

"Thus he remained from Saturday morning about sun rise, till Sabbath day in the afternoon, when those who took him out of bed, found him still warm, though the season was as cold as had almost been known in any age: and a New England winter does not want for cold. On the night following, his countenance was yet fresh as before; but on Monday morning they found the face ex-

\* Hutchinson says, they dragged the woman out of her house—hung her up until she was nearly dead, then let her down—rolled her sometime in the snow, and at last buried her in it, and there left her; but it happened she revived, and the melancholy man died.—History of Massachusetts, Vol. ii. p. 24.

tremely tumify'd and discoloured. It was black and blue, and fresh blood seemed running down his cheek upon the hairs. Divers noises were also heard in the room where the corpse lay; as the clattering of chairs and stools, whereof no account could be given. This was the end of so good a man."\* Whether the old lady was indicted for the *murder*, does not appear; perhaps the sufferings she had undergone, wrought so upon her that no further prestigious efforts were apprehended.

The demons now again descended the river to Hartford, and tendered their services to one Mary Johnson, who was indicted, condemned and hanged. They then returned to Boston, and by "a very stupendous witchcraft," arrested four children of the family of John Goodman; but after many severe sufferings, three of the afflicted were relieved, by some pious ministers of that place and Charlestown, who appointed a day of fasting and prayer on the occasion, at the troubled house. An Irish woman who was suspected as the cause of the wonderful phenomena, was however committed to the care of the gaoler, and afterwards condemned and hanged.

Many other cases, related with all the particulars, by the historians of the times, occurred in various parts of New England, and they extended to New York,† and the demons were very successful in their prestigious attacks. But at length, relinquishing their *petite guerre*, they concentrated their whole force, and attempted to carry one of the strong holds, by a *coup de main*; and it must be acknowledged they made a most horrid slaughter. Salem was the devoted place, and the family of Mr. Paris, pastor of the church, sustained the first onset in 1692. Soon after many others were involved in the calamity, and the invieibles made use of their keenest arts in afflicting and tormenting the deluded people.

Tedious and disgusting would it be, to recite the whole of the cases that occurred at this place, with the puerile

\* Magnalia, Vol. ii. Book, 6.

† At the court of assizes held in New York, October 1665, Ralph Hall, and his wife were tried upon suspicion of witchcraft. The jury found that there were suspicions against the woman, but none which would justify the taking away of life; the man was acquitted. The woman however was bound over to the next session, and finally released. Other cases occurred.

Smith's History of New York. Notes.

examinations before the magistrates, by whom the innocent people were committed and held for trial, before the higher courts. Those who were supposed to be afflicted by the witches, complained of the most excruciating torments, by some invisible power, which they called the *devil*. Suffice it to state, they were distorted and convulsed; pinched with great violence, pierced and burnt with hot irons, and frequently scalded—invisible poisons administered, which produced great swellings of the body; their money was sometimes forced from them and afterwards dropped from the atmosphere; some became dumb, their throats were choaked, their limbs racked—others rode through the air upon poles, and in this manner were carried several miles to witch meetings; and many other cruelties are mentioned. The afflicted were supposed to possess so refined a vision, as to see their tormentors, “as well as the *devil*, who tendered them a book, requiring their signature, or at least a touch, in token of having enlisted into his service;” and on refusal, their torments were rendered more intense. These were not supposed to be bewitched until they complied with the devil’s requisitions; but their torments were attributed to some evil person in the neighborhood, acting as the agent of his satanick majesty; generally, at first, women of suspicious characters, who had enlisted into his service.

Numerous other preternatural and unaccountable transactions are related by historians, particularly by Dr. Cotton Mather, who probably, aware of ridicule from the enlightened part of the community, attempts to shield himself under the following salvo. “Flashy people may burlesque these things; but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country, where they have as much mother wit, certainty as the rest of mankind, *know them to be true*; nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of *sadducism* can question them.” “I have not,” says he, “mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the oaths of more consistent persons, than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena.” And after a very full detail of the transactions of the invisibles, he adds, “Nor are these the tenth part of

the prodigies, that fell out among the inhabitants of New England."

Among the doctor's "flashy people," to their honor be it noted, were Simeon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth, Rev. Increase Mather, Rev. Samuel Willard and major N. Saltonstall, all gentlemen of high standing, and the last, one of the judges of the court who left his seat. These gentlemen, if they did not view the whole affair to have originated in delusion, utterly condemned the proceedings of the courts, and freely declared their opinions of their measures.\*

The furious infatuation continued to reign in Salem, and other places in the neighborhood, and the prisons were crowded with accused persons; but though commitments had continued from February to June, no trials had taken place, for want of a court, until the first week in the latter month. At this time, that of oyer and terminer sat at Salem, when an elderly lady was tried and condemned, and soon afterwards executed. The court then adjourned to the thirtieth of the same month, and the governor, (Sir. William Phipps,) and council in the mean time, according to an old charter practice, applied to several of the principal ministers, for their opinion upon the state of affairs.

In their return to the governor, these *enlightened* gentlemen deplored the afflicted state of those who are molested from the invisible world, and expressed thanks for the endeavours of the rulers to defeat the abominable witchcrafts in the country. They then proceeded to give instructions concerning prosecutions for the crime; but urge caution, "least by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and satan get an advantage over them." Assuming the style of lawyers, they then say, "As in complaints upon witchcraft, there may be matters of inquiry, which do not amount unto matters of presumption, and there may be matters of presumption which yet may not be matters of conviction, so it is necessary that all proceedings thereabout, be managed with an exceeding tenderness, towards those who may be complained of, especially if they have been

\* Brattles' account of the Witchcraft.—Mass. Historical Society, Vol. v.



supposed to be impossible for a witch, excited some doubts of his guilt, among the infatuated people.

In the month of September, fifteen other persons, all females excepting one, were condemned, eight of whom were executed. At the same court Giles Cory, one of the accused, seeing the fate of those who had been tried, refused to plead; on which the *humane* court awarded the judgment of *peine fort et dure*, and he was *pressed to death*. The most ferocious savage would have recoiled at the barbarity; but the court was more refined in its ferocity, and persisted in its determination, with callous indifference. A law soon after passed the general court, constituting a standing court of trials, and that of oyer and terminer, by which nineteen innocent persons had lost their lives, ended its bloody career. But commitments continued, and the gaols at Salem and some other places, were crowded with accused people, among whom were many females of reputable families, and the mania began to spread far and wide, and some of the officers of justice were implicated. A fortunate circumstance!

At the court holden in January, 1693, the grand jury found bills against fifty persons, for the supposed crime. One against Mary Osgood, was in the following words.

Province of Massachusetts	} Anno. R. & Reginae Gulielmi, et
Bay in New England.	

Anno Domini, 1692.\*

The Jurors for our sovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, present, that Mary Osgood, wife of Capt. John Osgood, of Andover, in the county of Essex, about eleven years ago, in the town of Andover aforesaid, wilfully, maliciously, and feloniously, a covenant with the Devil did make; and signed the Devil's book, and took the Devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was baptized by the Devil, and renounced her former Christian baptism, and promised to be the Devil's both body and soul forever, and serve him; by which diabolical covenant, by her made with the Devil, she, the said Mary Osgood is become a detestable witch, against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady, the king

\* At this time, the year commenced on the twenty fifth of March, and according to the present reckoning, the indictment would bear date in 1693.

and queen, their crown and dignity, and the laws in that case made and provided.

*Billa vera.* THOMAS PAGE, Foreman.\*

The other bills, excepting in one or two instances, were against females, and some accusations were made against people of more elevated rank, than those who had fallen victims, among whom was the governor's lady. This brought the court to a pause, and they, as well as the people, began to open their eyes to the fatal delusion. On trial, all, except three of the worst characters, were acquitted, and these governor Phipps reprieved for the king's mercy. Those who were not brought to trial at this court were discharged.

The dreadful mania extended to the counties of Middlesex and Suffolk, where some were indicted; but on trial acquitted. More than one hundred women, many of fair characters and of reputable families, had been accused, principally in Salem, Beverly, Andover, Billerica and other towns in the vicinity, and in most cases, committed to prison. Some had the good fortune to escape, and many who found themselves implicated, left the province before warrants were issued for their apprehension. Under the hope of mercy, some of the condemned persons confessed the pretended crime; but subsequently retracted their confessions; and all who were executed, persisted in their innocence to the last. The alarm occasioned by the fury was so great, that in some instances, wives accused their husbands, children their parents, and parents their children, merely for the purpose of exculpating themselves. Compared with this horrible situation, the depredations and murders of the savages on the frontiers, were acts of humanity, and the demoralizing effects must have been of the deepest die.

The furious volcano at length spent its rage; the officers of government recoiled, and the people were struck with astonishment at the bloody scene. On the return of their senses, several of the jurors publicly acknowledged their error; and judge Sewall, sometime after, made a written confession in which he expressed "a deep sense of guilt contracted upon opening the late court of oyer and terminer at Salem; and asked pardon of God and

\* Massachusetts Historical Collections. Vol. vii. p. 241.

man," which was read by the Rev. Mr. Willard to his congregation. But chief justice Stoughton, on being informed of this retraction of his brother judge, observed "that when he sat in judgment he had the fear of God before his eyes. and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding; and although it might appear afterwards, that he had been in an error, he saw no necessity of a public acknowledgment of it."\*

Remarking upon the extraordinary infatuation, Hutchinson says, "a little attention must force conviction, that the whole was a scene of fraud and imposture, began by young girls, who at first perhaps thought of nothing more than being pitied and indulged; and continued by adult persons who were afraid of being accused themselves. The one and the other, rather than confess their fraud, suffered the lives of so many innocents to be taken away through the credulity of the judges and jurors."—That the train which led to the charged mine was ready to be fired by the smallest spark is readily admitted; and the cause assigned for the explosion at Salem, may have been the real one. But the delusion, it is evident, had a more remote origin, and a short recurrence to history will develop the source of the delusion so general among the leading men in the early settlement of this country.

"In the reign of James 1st, says Hume, every science, as well as polite literature must be considered as being yet in its infancy. Scholastic learning and polemical divinity retarded the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the antients."†

The Abbe Millot, treating of the state of government, manners, religion and science, during the first part of the seventeenth century, gives a gloomy picture of learning in Europe. The following is the substance of his statement.

Men of letters were in general entirely destitute of the philosophic spirit. The greatest part pursued the pe-

\* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. ii, p. 62.

† History of England. Vol. vi, p. 136—Reign of James 1st.

clantic taste attached to the ungrateful studies of pure erudition. They wasted their strength on passages of Greek and Latin authors; arrogantly despised what did not bear the stamp of antiquity; and the foul language with which their works abound, was in their estimation, a beauty of style. The little known of science was under the trammels of the peripatetic philosophy, which was imperiously taught to youth in public schools, by men who drew from it their very existence; who were filled with rage at the least appearance of novelty, and anathematized reason, because they justly dreaded its power. In a word it may be said, that thought and common sense often became a crime. Did a genius venture to break the shackles which bound philosophy to the chimerical notions of the times, he was immediately seized by the power of the Romish church, and compelled to renounce his principles, or suffer the sentence of the inquisition. Gassendi dared not combat Aristotle but with endless precaution, submitting his works to the judgment of the Church. Descartes having retired into Holland that he might there enjoy liberty, met with persecution in that country, and found himself accused of atheism, after having published new proofs of the existence of a Deity.

Galileo met with more severe obstacles. When by the aid of a telescope he had improved, he brought forward demonstrative proofs of the truth of the Copernican system, a monk lodged an information against him before the inquisition, and he was compelled to promise that he would no longer maintain the system, by word or writing. Disregarding this forced promise, he soon after published his "Dialogue," containing further proofs of the system. Upon this, in 1633, he was summoned to Rome, and the *sage* inquisitors passed the following sentence upon his work. "To say that the sun is in the centre and has no local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy; it is even heretical, being expressly contrary to the holy scripture. To say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it has even a diurnal motion, is likewise a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, and at least erroneous in the faith." Galileo was imprisoned, and constrained solemnly to abjure his "*absurdities and heresy.*"

But though the thunders of the vatican were unable to keep down the bold efforts of genius, the great body of the people, the clergy and the magistrates, still continued the slaves of many absurd prejudices. Astrology maintained its credit; trials for witchcraft were common, and attended with horrid consequences. Urban Grandier was burnt alive in 1684, on a charge of having bewitched several nuns. Numerous other cases occurred in various parts of Europe, and hundreds were put to death.

In England, says Miss Aikin, during the reign of James the first, who was a firm believer in witchcraft, it is computed that no less than one hundred persons fell victims to the prevalence of the superstition fostered by the royal example; but the most celebrated of the kind took place at Lancaster in 1612, where nineteen unfortunate persons were indicted for the crime, ten of whom were convicted and executed. To prove one of these, a female, guilty of the crime, an evidence was admitted, of its *having been the opinion of many not in court*, that she had turned his beer sour!\*

After the death of Charles 1st, according to Hume, the fanaticism which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so over charged with various antipathies, had acquired new objects of abhorrence. These were the sorcerers. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers accused of the crime were burnt by sentence of the magistrates, through all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished with fire; and it became a science every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms.†

During these times of insanity, books were published in Great Britain in support of the existence of witches, as well as on the best modes of trying them; and in some instances, gentlemen of the law engaged in the work. Among these books were Keeble on the common law (approved by the twelve judges)—Matthew Hale's Trials of Witches, anno 1682—Glanvil's Collections of Sundry Trials in England and Ireland, in 1658, et seq.—Bar-

\* Memoirs of the court of James 1st.

† History of England, Vol. vii, p. 193.

nard's Guide to Jurymen—Baxter's, et al. History of Witches—Wierus de Proestigiis Doemonum. In the last work we have the following definition of a witch, "a person that having the full use of his reason, doth knowingly and willingly, seek and obtain of the Devil, or any other God, besides the true God Jehovah, an ability to do, or know strange thing, or things which he cannot by his own human abilities arrive unto."

In this semi-barbarous state of Europe, a passage across the Atlantic, and the settlement of a new country infested by savages, where no opportunity presented for improvement in knowledge, was ill calculated to produce a change of mind, and eradicate the absurdities the adventurers had imbibed in their mother country. If religious persecution had taught them to think more correctly on religious establishments, they soon forgot the lesson, and in a short time, exhibited the same persecuting spirit which they found so intolerable in that country. In the treatment of the Quakers and others who held sentiments differing from theirs, it would be a stretch of charity hardly to be expected, to admit that they acted from pure motives. Some valuable qualities they certainly possessed, and they deserve much applause for their perseverance and great resolution in breasting the hardships and dangers incident to the settlement of the country. But after allowing this, we are compelled to acknowledge, with an approved historian, "that under a pretext of following the pure gospel, they were capable of every extravagance—of every excess to which the enthusiasm of imaginary perfection, or the delirium of unreal virtues, can hurry men of a gloomy and violent temper."

Before the witch mania broke out in New England, the leading men, with a few exceptions, had deeply imbibed the fatal delusion, and the authority of sir Matthew Hale, instead of a striking instance of the imbecility sometimes observed in great minds, was considered as a demonstration of the reality of prestigious agency; and unfortunately, the officers of government, as well as a great proportion of the clergy in New England were dupes to the delusion; and as the laity looked to the latter for instruction in spiritual affairs, they readily embraced their opinions. Had these leaders intermixed a little sound

science with their theological learning, they would have avoided the error; and by treating the first cases with ridicule and contempt, have put it to rest. But instead of this they threw about it the veil of mystery—appointed solemn fasts, and implored the Deity to interpose, and put a stop to works, which they attributed to the devil\*—to an evil being, without material existence, endowed by Deity with powers to suspend his laws—to mislead mankind from the paths of duty, and to inflict wounds by actual tangibility, with an invisible hand!

Among the clergy who embraced the delusion, was the Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D. & F. R. S. who flourished at the time in Boston. That he should become a convert to prestigious agency, has not been considered mysterious by those acquainted with his singular anomalies—limited science, and peculiar views. A few extracts from his master work, entitled "*Magnalia Christi Americana*," will exhibit, not only his, but the prevalent superstition of the times in which he lived. They are here given in his own words.

"Tis very likely that the *evil angels*, may have a particular energy and employment, often times in the mischiefs done by thunder. There [in the air] Satan can do mighty things—command much of the magazine of heaven—Satan let loose by God, can do wonders in the air. He can raise storms, he can discharge the great ordinance of Heaven, thunders and lightning; and by his art can make them more terrible, and dreadful than they are in their own nature. Tis no heresy or blasphemy to think that the prince of the power of the air hath as good share in Chymistry, as goes to the making of *Aurum fulminans*.†

"The devil is the prince of the power of the air, and when God gives him leave, he has vast power in the air, and armies, that can make thunder in the air. A great man has therefore noted it—'that thunders break oftener on Churches, than any other houses, because the demons have a peculiar spite at houses that are set apart for the peculiar service of God.'

\* Soon after Mr. Paris's daughter was found to be under the power of the witches, he preached from this text, "*Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil.*"

† Vol. ii. Book 6. p. 312.

"In the days of Moses it seems the deserts were counted very much the habitation of devils." "Who can tell whether the envy of the devils at the favor of God unto men, may not provoke them to affect retirement from the sight of populous and prosperous regions, except so far as they reckon their work of tempting mankind, necessary to be carried on?"

"Whatever becomes of the observations which we have hitherto been making, there has been too much cause to observe that the Christians who were driven into the American desert, which is now called New England, have to their sorrow seen *Azazel* dwelling and raging in very tragical instances. The devils have doubtless felt a more than ordinary vexation, from the arrival of these Christians, with their sacred exercises of christianity in this wilderness. But the sovereignty of Heaven has permitted them still to remain in the wilderness, for our vexation as well as their own."\*

Quitting the direct agency of the devil, the doctor details many other prodigies, which he supposes ominous of great events, and which he probably imputed to the *good angels*, one or more of whom he believed presided in the air, over every town and village. A short time prior to Philips' war he relates, in a grave and serious manner, that noises were heard in the air, similar to the discharge of artillery and small arms, accompanied with the beating of drums, as in a battle. In several places invisible troops of horse are said to have been heard, riding through the air. His *naval apparition* must not be omitted. A ship sailed from a port in New England for Europe, with many passengers, and was supposed to be foundered at sea; but as the event was doubtful, the people remained in suspense. At length, behold! a ship rigged out in every part similar to the one that had been lost, entered the harbor of New Haven, and winged its way through the air, directly in the face of the wind, until it arrived near the wharf, when its masts and rigging went overboard, and many signals of distress were displayed; but soon the whole vanished from the sight. Now, adds the sage, "prepare for the event of those prodigies; but count me not struck with a Livian super-

\* Vol. ii p. 389.



stitution in reporting prodigies, for which I have such incontestable proofs." Many other phenomena extraordinary and unaccountable, are also detailed with great minuteness by the doctor; but it is believed the reader will be satisfied with those already given.

Similar phantoms were fostered by the *learned* of Europe, for a long time prior to the close of the seventeenth century. If in America, they were protracted to a later period, it is accounted for, in the natural embarrassments incident to the planting of a new country, and the consequent want of means for a more enlarged education. In Europe, had genius been left to pursue its natural course, the mental fog would have been sooner dissipated; the light of science extended through the deep gloom, and the mind freed from its shackles. Fortunately an original genius at length appeared, and boldly attempted to break the yoke of pedantry, and open the path to knowledge. This was Francis Bacon, of England, who in the reign of James, 1st. "comprehended in some short works the seeds of the greatest part of the discoveries; demonstrated the faults in the common methods, and proposed others of an excellent kind; exhibited the futility of abstractions which the doctors made the sole study; established the basis of science on the phenomena of nature; and in a manner, prophesied the miracles which they would in a short time produce. In a word, he proved that men knew nothing; which was at that time the most important lesson they could learn."\*

Notwithstanding this scintillation, the dark cloud still hung over Europe, and it was nearly half a century before it was so far dissipated as to permit the sun of science to shine in its full lustre. At length Newton, and other men of genius, pursuing the Baconian road, applied boldly to the cultivation of science—studied nature in defiance of old systems, and by the aid of experiment, and mathematical investigation, established a system of philosophy on the firmest basis. America at length felt the blessed effects; colleges and schools were established upon liberal principles; classical learning was connected with philosophy; toleration in religion taught men to follow the dictates of their reason, without cutting each

\* Millot's Elements, Vol. v. p. 90.

others throats; abler statesmen, and more enlightened clergy appeared; and witchcraft vanished from the scientific world. If the phantom still exists, it is only in the dark recesses of ignorance, where men shut their eyes to the light of philosophy, and are not ashamed to be considered ridiculous.

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## CHAPTER XI.

THE peace of Ryswick in 1697, was of short duration. King William having deceased in 1702, queen Anne was seated on the British throne, and war once more blazed forth in Europe. England and France were now to measure swords to decide some misunderstanding between crowned heads, and the frontiers of the English colonies in America, again to suffer devastation, the bloody tomahawk, and all the horrors of an Indian war.

Before entering upon the military operations, it may be important to notice the population of the British colonies in America. In 1701, the number of people in New England and New York, according to the best data, were estimated as follows:

Massachusetts,	70,000	Brought up,	. 120,000
Connecticut,	. 30,000	New York,	. . 30,000
Rhode Island,	. 10,000		
New Hampshire,	10,000	Total,	. . 150,000

The colonies south of New York, were rated at the following numbers.

Jerseys,	. . . 15,000	Brought up,	. 105,000
Pennsylvania,	. 20,000	South Carolina,	7,000
Maryland,	. . 25,000		
Virginia,	. . . 40,000	Total,	. . 112,000*
North Carolina,	5,000		

The *French* population in Canada, was comparatively small. Data by which to calculate the number in 1701 has not been found; but in 1697, exclusive of Acadie, it was reckoned at eight thousand five hundred and fifteen, and the province could not arm above one thousand mili-

\* Humphrey's Historical Account, quoted by Holmes, Vol. ii, p. 54.

tia.\* A considerable body of regular troops were however kept in the country, and the Indians over whom the French exercised a kind of jurisdiction, were numerous, and a large force might be drawn from them on short notice. As the French had now made peace with the five nations, they were at liberty to turn their whole force against the English northern colonies.

War with the French in Canada being unavoidable, Joseph Dudley, now governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, held a treaty with the eastern Indians, in 1703, at which they gave solemn assurances of their determination of remaining at peace with New England. Notwithstanding these friendly pretensions, they were strongly suspected of hostile designs, and soon threw off the mask. Within the space of six weeks, hostilities commenced in the eastern quarter, and the whole country from Casco to Wells was devastated, and one hundred and thirty people killed or captured, by a force of five hundred French and Indians.

During king William's war, the people of Deerfield on Connecticut river, though constantly exposed to the inroads of the enemy, resolutely maintained their ground, and after the peace, made considerable improvements. Prior to the commencement of queen Anne's war, many houses were built, besides a small one for public worship; and Mr. John Williams settled in the ministry.† The centre of the village was enclosed by an extensive, but imperfect, palisaded work, covering part of the place about the present meeting house, and several detached houses were defended by slight fortifications.

The mode of fortifying, in the frontier towns at this time was still rude and simple, and calculated merely for defence against slight attacks. In many cases single houses were surrounded with palisades of cleft or hewn timber, planted perpendicular in the ground without

\* Universal History, Vol. xi, pp. 20, 23, and Wynne, Vol. i, p. 394, as quoted by Holmes, Vol. ii, p. 37.

† A home lot was granted to Mr. Williams, on which a dwelling house forty by twenty feet, with a linto, was erected by the people. In 1789, the town voted to erect a good and sufficient fortification upon the meeting house hill; and in 1696 all training soldiers were ordered to work on the fortifications on certain days, and three *moun* to be built at the fort, about the town, according to the directions of the military committee, and the old fort to be renewed.—*Extracts from the Town Records.*

ditches; and the larger works enclosing villages were much of the same nature. In some cases single houses were constructed of square timber, laid horizontally and locked at the angles; and loop holes were pierced on every side for firing upon an enemy. The walls of framed houses were commonly lined with brick, the upper story projecting, and loop holes prepared to fire down upon the enemy in case of a close approach, and not unfrequently flanking works were placed at the angles, similar to small bastions. A work called a *mount* was often erected at exposed points. These were a kind of elevated block-house, affording a view of the neighboring country, and where they were wanting, sentry boxes were generally placed upon the roofs of houses. Like most of the works built in the early settlement of the country, they were too extensive. Strong *block-houses* affording an enfilading fire with swivels, were still wanting to render the defences respectable.

Northfield, on Connecticut river, during the first part of king William's war, had been occupied by a few settlers, protected by small works, and a few troops furnished by government; but the people were at length compelled to abandon it, on which the Indians destroyed the houses and forts, and the place was not re-occupied at the commencement of queen Anne's war.

Deerfield being now the frontier town on the Connecticut, had early attracted the attention of the enemy, and they had determined to sack the place. Intelligence of this design was received by lord Cornbury, governor of New York, from the Mohawks who had visited the Cahnawagas in Canada, and by him communicated to governor Dudley, in the summer of 1703. The same intelligence was subsequently communicated to the inhabitants of Deerfield, by colonel Schuyler of Albany, and on application to the governor of Massachusetts, twenty soldiers were sent as a guard, and the inhabitants were kept on the alert.\*

Small parties of Indians soon began to hover about the

\* In 1702 at a meeting of the town it was voted "that the fort be righted up and every man shall repair his proportion as it was last laid out to him, by a certain day, or pay a fine of three shillings per rod: the commissioned officers to inspect and pass the fort."—*Town Records*.

town, and on the eighth of October, 1708, Zebediah Williams and John Nims were ambuscaded in the meadow, near Broughton's pond, in the vicinity of the village, captured and carried to Canada. Nims, with some other captives effected their escape, and after great sufferings returned home; but Williams died in captivity.

The storm that threatened Deerfield was now approaching. In the evening of the twenty ninth of February, 1704,\* major Hertel de Rouville with two hundred French and one hundred and forty two Indians, aided by two of his brothers, after a tedious march of between two and three hundred miles, through deep snow, arrived at an elevated pine forest† bordering Deerfield meadow, about two miles north of the village, where they lay concealed until after midnight. Finding all quiet, and the snow covered with a crust sufficient to support the men, Rouville deposited his snow shoes and packs at the foot of the elevation, and crossing Deerfield river, began his march through an open meadow a little before day light. As the march upon the crust produced a rustling noise, which it was apprehended might alarm the sentinels in the fort, he ordered frequent halts, in which the whole lay still for a few moments, and then rising, they dashed on with rapidity. The noise thus alternately ceasing, it was supposed would be attributed by the sentinels, to the irregularity of the wind; but the precaution was unnecessary, for the guard within the fort had improvidently retired to rest about the time the enemy commenced their march through the meadow. Arriving at the northwest quarter of the fort, where the snow in many places was drifted nearly to the top of the palisades, the enemy entered the place, and found all in a profound sleep. Parties detached in different directions assaulted the houses, broke the doors, and dragged the astonished people from their beds. Where resistance was attempted, the tomahawk or musket ended the strife. A few were so fortunate as to escape by flight to the adjacent woods; but the greatest part were killed or made prisoners.

Early in the assault about twenty Indians attacked the house of the Rev. John Williams, who awaking from a sound sleep, instantly leaped from his bed, ran towards

\* By New Style, March 12, 1704.

† Now called Petty's Plain.

the door and found a party entering. Calling to awaken a couple of soldiers in his chamber, he seized a pistol from his bed tester, and presenting it to the breast of the foremost Indian, attempted to shoot him, but it missed fire. He was instantly seized, bound, and thus kept near an hour without his clothes. Two of his young children were dragged to the door and murdered, and his negro woman suffered the same fate. Mrs. Williams who had lain in but a few weeks previously, and five children were also seized, and the house rifled with unrelenting barbarity. While the Indians were thus employed, captain Stoddard, a lodger in the house, seizing his cloak, leaped from a chamber window, escaped across Deerfield river, and availing himself of his cloak, which he tore into shreds and wrapped about his feet, arrived at Hatfield nearly exhausted.

The house of captain John Sheldon was attacked, but as the door at which the Indians attempted to enter was firmly bolted they found it difficult to penetrate. They then perforated it with their tomahawks, and thrusting through a musket, fired and killed the captain's wife, as she was rising from her bed in an adjoining room. The captain's son and wife awakened by the assault, leaped from a chamber window at the east end of the house, by which the latter strained her ankle, and was seized by the Indians, but the husband escaped into the woods and reached Hatfield. After gaining possession of the house, which was one of the largest in the place, the enemy reserved it as a depot for the prisoners, as they were collected from other parts of the village.

Another dwelling house situated about fifty yards southwest of Sheldon's, though repeatedly attacked, and various means adopted to set it on fire, was saved from the grasp of the enemy, by seven armed men and a few women, by whom it was occupied. While the brave defenders were pouring their fire upon the assailants from the windows and loop holes, the no less brave women were busily employed in casting balls for future supply. Unable to carry the house, or intimidate the defenders to a surrender, by all their threats and stratagems, the enemy gave up their efforts, and cautiously endeavored to keep out of the range of the shot. But notwithstanding

their precautions, several were singled out and shot down by the marksmen in the house.

While devastation and ruin were in operation in the main fort, a palisaded house, situated about sixty rods southerly, was furiously attacked, and gallantly defended by a small party of the inhabitants, and the assailants were at length compelled to draw off. But they received several fatal shots from the house during their stay in the place.

Having collected the prisoners, plundered and set fire to the buildings, Rouville left the place sun about an hour high, and retraced his march through the meadow to his packs and snow shoes, where the prisoners were deprived of their shoes, and furnished with Indian mockasins, to enable them to travel with more facility.

While the enemy were preparing for the march, a party of the inhabitants, who had escaped, returned to the conflagrated village, and joined by the men who had defended the two houses, and a few people who had hurried on from Hatfield, pressed into the meadow in pursuit of the enemy, and a sharp skirmish ensued; but being at length nearly encircled by a superior force, they were compelled to retire, with the loss of nine of their party. The pursuit, though highly honorable to the bravery of the pursuers, exposed the captives to imminent danger. During the fight, the English maintained their ground with great resolution and at one crisis, Rouville, apprehending a defeat, sent orders for the captives to be tomahawked; but fortunately the messenger was killed, before he delivered his orders. Preparations were however made, by the Indians guarding the prisoners, to put them to death in case of the defeat of the party in the meadow, and several were bound for the diabolical purpose; on the retreat of the English, Rouville countermanded his order and saved the captives.

The whole number made prisoners, amounted to one hundred and twelve, including three Frenchmen residing in the village; and the slain, including those who fell in the skirmish in the meadow, numbered forty seven; the whole loss of the enemy, was about the same number. Excepting the meeting house and Sheldon's, which was the last fired, and saved by the English who assembled im-

mediately after the enemy left the place; all within the fort were reduced to ashes. That which was so bravely defended by the seven men, accidentally took fire, and was consumed while they were engaged in the meadow. Sheldon's house, now owned by Col. Elihu Hoyt, is still standing near the brick meeting house, in the centre of the village; exhibiting the perforation made in the door with the tomahawks, as well as those of balls in the interior; that which killed Mrs. Sheldon is still to be seen.\*

Soon after the termination of the action in the meadow, Rouville commenced his march for Canada. Most gloomy were the prospects of the captives; many were women, then under circumstances requiring the most tender treatment; some young children whose feeble frames could not sustain the fatigues of a day; others, infants who were to be carried in the arms of their parents, left on the snow, or knocked on the head with the tomahawk; and several of the adult males were badly wounded. Under these melancholy forbodings, others not less appalling presented. The distance to Canada was not much short of three hundred miles, through a country wild and waste—the ground deeply covered with snow—the weather cold and inclement, and what appeared impossible to surmount, provisions were to be procured on the route. At the commencement of the march, the murder of an infant, was a prelude to the cruelties that were to be expected from the blood thirsty Indians.

The first day's march was necessarily slow and difficult, and but little progress was made. The Indians, probably from a desire to preserve the young, to dispose of in Canada, or to retain for their own service, rather than from tenderness, assisted the parents by carrying the infants and young children upon their backs. At night Rouville encamped in the meadow, in what is now Greenfield, not exceeding four miles from Deerfield village, where by clearing away the snow, spreading boughs,

\* The annexed plate exhibits a view of the house. The building is constructed of wood, the walls lined with brick, and though upwards one hundred and thirty years old, the timber in general is sound, even to the sills; and the primitive clapboards upon the gable ends, are in a good state of preservation. Other parts have been covered, and do not exhibit so antique an appearance, as its age would indicate.

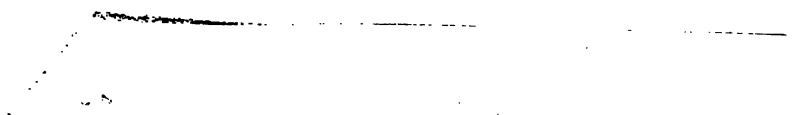


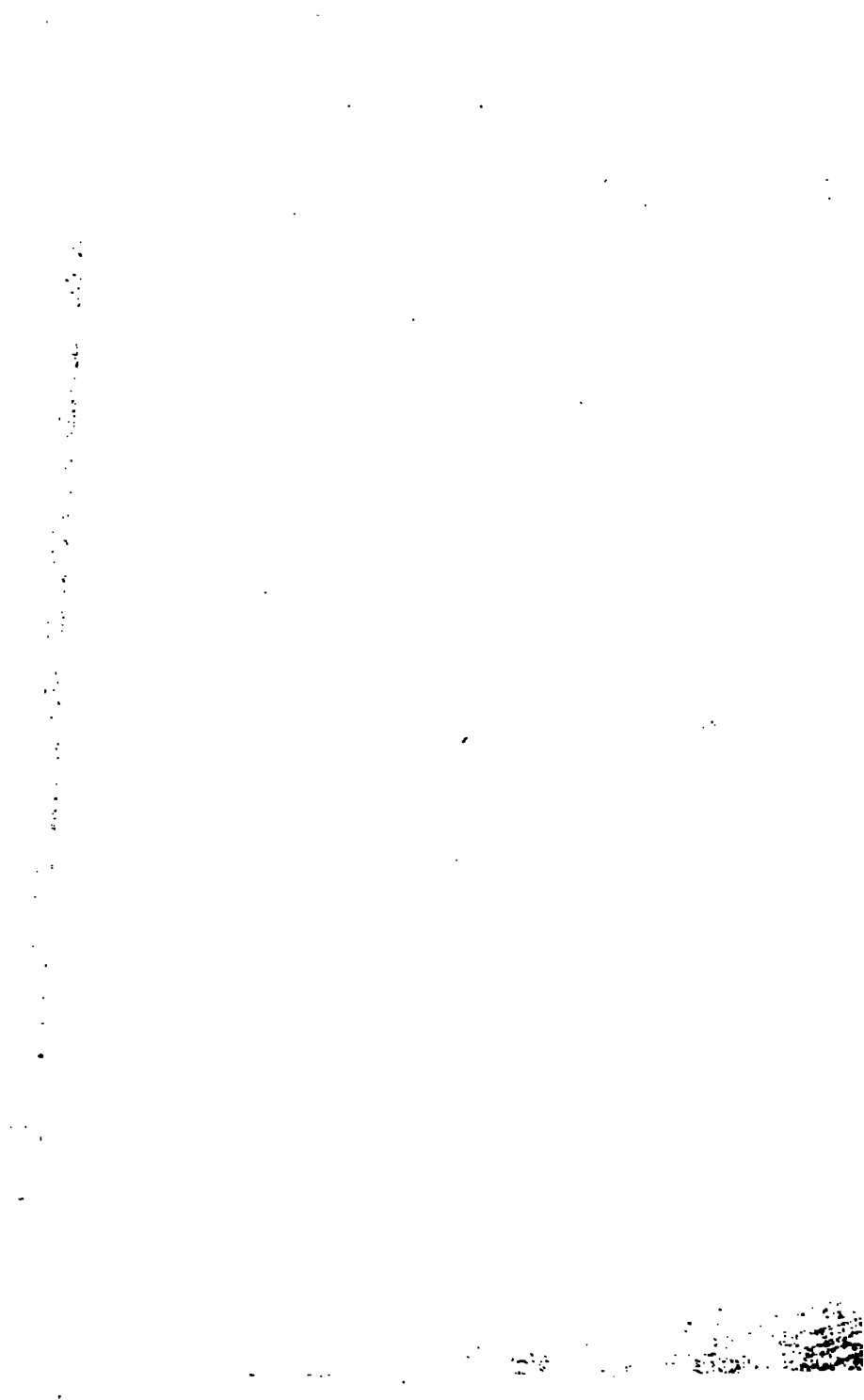
and constructing slight cabins of brush, the prisoners were as comfortably lodged as circumstances would admit. To prevent escapes, the most athletic were bound, and secured according to the Indian mode, and this was practised at the subsequent night camps. Notwithstanding this precaution, Joseph Alexander, one of the prisoners, had the good fortune to escape. To deter other attempts, Mr. Williams, who was considered as the head of the captives, was informed that in case of another escape, the remainder should suffer death by fire. In the course of the night, some of the Indians became intoxicated with spirits they had plundered at Deerfield, and fell upon Mr. William's negro and murdered him.

The second day's march was equally slow, and Mr. Williams was permitted, for a short time, to assist his distressed wife in travelling, who now began to be exhausted; but he was torn from her and placed at the head of the column, leaving her to struggle along unassisted. At the upper part of Greenfield meadow it became necessary to pass Green river, a small stream then open, in performing which, Mrs. Williams plunged under water, but recovering herself, she with difficulty reached the shore, and continued her route. An abrupt hill was now to be surmounted, and Mr. Williams, who had gained the summit, intreated his master, (for so the Indian who captured him was called,) for leave to return and help forward his distressed wife, but was barbarously refused and she was left to struggle with difficulties beyond her power. Her ferocious master, finding her a burthen, sunk his hatchet in her head, and left her dead at the foot of the hill.\*

Rouville encamped the second night in the northerly part of the present town of Bernardston; a young woman and an infant were dispatched in the course of this day's march. At this camp a consultation was held by the Indians on killing and taking the scalp of Mr. Williams; but his master unwilling to part with so valuable a prize, interfered and saved him from the hatchet. The

\* Her body was soon after taken up by a party from Deerfield, and interred in the public burying ground in that town, where her grave stones, with those of her husband, Mr. Williams, are to be seen. She was the only daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, first pastor of the church in Northampton, by his wife Esther, the daughter of Rev. John Warham, who came from England, 1630.





next day the captives were more equally distributed for convenience of marching, and several exchanged masters. The fourth day brought the army to Connecticut river, about thirty miles above Deerfield, probably in the upper part of Brattleborough. Here light sledges were constructed, for the conveyance of the children, wounded, and baggage, and the march which was now on the ice, became more rapid; one female was this day relieved from her sufferings by a stroke of the hatchet.

The march on Connecticut river continued several days without any extraordinary incident, excepting now and then murdering an exhausted captive and fleeing off the scalp. On the first Sunday, the captives were permitted to halt and rest themselves, and Mr. Williams delivered a discourse from these words; "*The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against his commandments: Hear I pray you, all people and behold my sorrow: My virgins and young men are gone into captivity.*" Lam. i. 18.\*

At the mouth of White river, Rouville divided his force into several parties and they took different routes to the St. Lawrence. One which Mr. Williams accompanied, ascended the former river, and passing the highlands, struck Winooski, or Onion, then called French river, and proceeding down that stream to lake Champlain, continued the march on the lake to Missisque bay, near which they joined a party of Indians, on a hunting excursion. Proceeding to the Sorrel, they built canoes and passed down to Chamblee, where they found a French fort, and a small garrison. Their route was then continued to the village of Sorrel, where some of the captives had already arrived. Mr. Williams was thence conveyed down the St. Lawrence, to the Indian village of St. Francis, and sometime after, to Quebec; and after a short residence at that place, sent to Montreal, where he was humanely treated by governor Vaudreuil.

Another party ascended the Connecticut, and halted sometime at Coos meadows, where provisions being exhausted they barely escaped starvation, by collecting wild game; and two of the captives, David Hoit and Jacob Hix, actually famished. Some of Mr. William's chil-

\* This sermon is said to have been delivered at the mouth of William's river, in Rockingham, Vermont; from which circumstance the river received its name.

dren accompanied this party, and after much delay, and great suffering, they arrived at various Indian lodges on the St. Lawrence. In a few instances the captives were purchased of the Indians, by the French inhabitants; but the greatest proportion were retained by the Indians, at their lodges in various parts of the country. Of the one hundred and twelve taken at Deerfield, about seventeen were killed, or died on the march, and the sufferings of all were severe in the extreme.

During his captivity, Mr. Williams was permitted to visit various places on the St. Lawrence, and in his interviews with the French jesuits, he found them zealously attached to the Roman Catholic religion, to which they spared no pains to convert him, as well as the other captives; and in some instances they inflicted punishments for non-compliance with their ceremonies. But they found him as zealously attached to his own religion, and through his influence most of the captives continued firm in the protestant persuasion. Whether the zeal of the jesuits proceeded from tenderness for the souls of the unfortunate heretics, or from a desire to retain them in the country, is a little doubtful. But through the steady and firm perseverance of Mr. Williams, whose alarms at a few unimportant ceremonies, imperiously enforced, and which he might under different circumstances have considered of little or no importance, the whole of his children, excepting one daughter, then about ten years of age, were at length redeemed from the Indians, and not long after two were sent home to New England.

In 1706, a flag ship was sent to Quebec by governor Dudley, by which fifty seven of the captives were obtained and conveyed to Boston, among whom was Mr. Williams and his remaining children, with the exception of his daughter Eunice, who, notwithstanding all the exertions of her father to obtain her redemption, was left among the Indians, and adopting their manners and customs, married a savage, by whom she had several children. Sometime after the war, she, with her husband, visited her relations at Deerfield, dressed in the Indian costume; and though every persuasive was tried to induce her to abandon the Indians, and to remain among her connections, all proved ineffectual; she returned to

Canada and there ended her days, a true savage. At various times since, several of her descendants have visited Deerfield, and other towns in New England, claiming relationship with the descendants of the Rev. Mr. Williams, and have been hospitably received. Recently one of the great grandsons of Mrs. Williams, under the name of Eleazer Williams, has been educated by his friends in New England, and is now employed as a missionary to the Indians at Green bay, on lake Michigan.

In a recent visit to Montreal and Quebec, Mr Williams made some exertions to procure documents relative to his ancestors, particularly on his grandmother's side; and though unable to ascertain the time and place where she died, he found the remnant of an over dress of silk stuff, worn by his great grandmother when she was killed by the Indians in 1704, and had been preserved by some of her descendants. He found a bible, which was the property of his great grandfather, the Rev. John Williams in which is the date of purchase with his name; also the journal of major Rouville, kept on the expedition against Deerfield in 1704, in which he frequently mentions John Williams as "an obstinate heretick." From the journal it appears Rouville's French troops suffered extremely from a want of provisions, on the march to Deerfield, and were in a mutinous state when they arrived before the place; but were kept to their duty by the Indians, who from their greater facility in procuring game in the woods, and superior hardiness, were faithful to the commander. Mr. Williams has also procured the journal of the commanding officer on the expedition against Schenectady, in 1690. These journals were obtained at one of the principal convents, where copies were required to be deposited on the return of the commanders of parties, as well as with the government. Mr. Williams states that when Deerfield was destroyed, the Indians took a small church bell, which is now hanging in an Indian church in St. Regis. It was conveyed on a sledge as far as lake Champlain and buried, and was subsequently taken up, and conveyed to Canada. Mr. Williams' father and other Indians at St. Regis, are well

acquainted with the facts relating to the bell, as well as the destruction of Deerfield.\*

Twenty eight of the captives remained in Canada, and mixing with the French and Indians and adopting their manners and customs, forgot their native country, and were lost to their friends. Several of their names have recently been found among the Indians residing in the vicinity of Montreal; and as they were sometimes adopted by those who married captives, they may not have become extinct. In 1756, one of the female captives, by the name of Mary Harris, a young child when taken, was residing at Cahnawaga. She was married and had several children one of whom was an officer in the French service. A gentleman who recently resided at Montreal, stated that at the lake of the *Two Mountains*, near the mouth of Grand river, he saw a French girl, who informed him that her grand mother was Thankful Stebbing, who was one of the captives from Deerfield in 1704; and the name of Thankful Stebbins is included in the list of unredeemed people, in the Rev. John William's "Redeemed Captive," published soon after his return from Canada. Probably many intermarried with the French. For the gratification of those who may deem an inquiry for their descendants among the French and Indians, worthy of attention, the names of the persons who remained in Canada are here inserted.

William Brooks, Mary Brooks, Daniel Crowfoot, Samuel Carter, John Carter, Mercy Carter, Elizabeth Corse, Abigail Denio, Mary Field, Freedom French, Martha French, Abigail French, Mary Harris, Samuel Hastings, Ebenezer Hoit, Thomas Hurst, Eben. Hurst, Hannah Hurst, Joanna Kellogg, Abigail Nims, Jemima Richards, Josiah Riseing, Ebenezer Stebbins, Joseph Stebbins, Thankful Stebbins, Elizabeth Stevens, Waist-till Warner, Eunice Williams.

Among the captives, was a family of Kelloggs, whose History is interesting. Besides Joanna, included in the above list, they were Martin, Joseph and Rebecca; the three last returned to Deerfield. When taken, Rebecca was about three years of age, and she resided at Cahnawaga.

\* Communicated by Col. Elisha Hoyt, who recently conversed with Mr. Williams.

waga until woman grown, and became extensively acquainted with the language of the Indians in that quarter. She and her two brothers, Martin and Joseph, who also learned the Indian language, were often employed as interpreters, the two latter at Indian treaties. Joseph attended one in that capacity, at Albany in 1754; and accompanying governor Shirley on the expedition against Oswego the next year, died at Schenectady. Rebecca married a Mr. Benjamin Ashley, and was repeatedly employed as an interpreter by missionaries. In 1757, she accompanied the Rev. Gideon Hawley on a tedious and dangerous tour through the woods to Susquehanah river, on a mission to the Indians in that quarter, and died at one of their towns the same year. Martin was several times captured by the Indians and conveyed to Canada, and afterwards bore a captain's commission. He was remarkable for bodily strength, and firmness of mind; and many exploits of his early life, are related. Mr. Sergeant employed him in the *Hollis school*, where his knowledge of the Indian language, rendered him eminently useful. He spent the last years of his life at Newington in Connecticut, and died about 1758.\*

The Rev. John Williams, immediately after landing at Boston, was met by a committee from Deerfield, with a request that he would return to his pastoral office, at that place, with which he complied; and a salary of forty pounds was granted him, and in 1711, it was raised to sixty pounds. He married a second wife, had several children, and died in 1729. He was a son of Mr. Samuel Williams of Roxbury, where he was born, Dec. 10th 1664, and took his degree at Harvard college, in 1683. Two of his sons were worthy ministers, one at Waltham, and the other at Longmeadow in Massachusetts.

Notwithstanding the exposed situation of Deerfield, the inhabitants who remained after the destruction of the place, resolutely determined to maintain their plantations; and scouts, under orders from Col. Stoddard of Northampton, were continually employed in ranging the woods towards Canada. But the place did not long remain unmolested. In the month of May, 1704, John Allen, and his wife were killed at a place called the *Bars*, about

\*Massachusetts Historical Collection, Vol. iv.



two miles south of the village ; soon after, John Hawks was ambuscaded by a party of Indians on the road towards Hatfield, but he escaped to that place without injury ; and in July, Thomas Russel was killed north of the town.

Early this year, intelligence was received, that a party of Indians had seated themselves at Coos, on Connecticut river, for the purpose of hunting. A scout of five friendly Indians, under Lieut. Caleb Lyman of Northampton, proceeded up the river to attack them, and after nine or ten day's march, arrived in the vicinity of their fort. Cautiously reconnoitring, Lyman selected his point of attack, where was a cabin of ten of the enemy, and approaching in the night, his party fired and killed seven on the spot, and wounded the other three, who escaped. Lyman returned to Northampton, without the loss of a man. Probably the Indians were of the party who destroyed Deerfield, and had remained at Coos, as has been mentioned.

Determined to give the frontiers no respite, and probably animated by the success of Rouville at Deerfield, four hundred French and Indians marched from Canada the same year, and on the 31st of July fell upon Lancaster in Massachusetts. Six fortified houses were simultaneously attacked, but the enemy met so warm a reception that they were compelled to retire. Before they left the place, most of the other buildings were fired, and reduced to ashes. Three hundred men from the adjacent towns, hurried on to the place towards the close of the day, came up with, and engaged the enemy, and several were killed on each side.

Soon after the attack on Lancaster, a small scout on the road between Northampton and Westfield, fell into an ambuscade of Indians ; one man was killed and two made prisoners. Another scout coming up, attacked and killed three of the enemy, and retook the two men. Not long after, lieutenant Wyler and several people were killed at Groton. On the 8th of August, a number of young lads at work in a field at Westborough, were attacked, one killed and four captured, and the prisoners conveyed to Canada. Timothy Rice one of the lads, became a noted chief at Cahnawaga, where he resided many

years, under the name of Oughzorongoughton, conferred upon him by the Indians, by which he was known to gentlemen in Albany. Several other towns in the eastern quarter of New England, suffered from predatory attacks in the summer of 1704.

Thus harrassed by the enemy, Massachusetts offered a bounty of forty pounds for each Indian scalp; by which scouts were induced to volunteer their services in scouring the frontiers, and several penetrated the woods as far as Ossipie pond, and Pigwacket, with various success.

Benjamin Church, now commissioned a colonel, was this year sent by Massachusetts, with five hundred men in whale boats, convoyed by several armed vessels, to sweep the eastern coast, now in possession of the enemy; and he executed his orders with his usual gallantry.\* Ascending the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers he destroyed the enemy's lodges, and took many prisoners, among whom was one of baron Castine's daughters, with her children, her father being then in France.

In the autumn of this year, the French in Canada suffered a severe loss, by the capture of a large store ship, called the *Seine*, on her passage from France; on board of which were a number of ecclesiastics and laymen, of great fortunes. The cargo was estimated at near a million of livres. The loss of this ship was a great embarrassment to the military operations of the French in Canada, and very few depredations were committed in 1705.

This year governor Vaudreuil made propositions to governor Dudley for a treaty of neutrality between the hostile colonies. The latter then contemplating the conquest of Canada, was opposed to the measure, but he had the address to protract the negotiation under pretence of consulting the other English governors. In the mean time, negotiations for an exchange of prisoners were carried on, and by this management, a large proportion of the Deerfield captives were finally released.

Early in 1706, the enemy renewed their incursions, and eight or ten people were killed at Oyster river. A fortified house was saved by a few women who had the

\* When this veteran first heard of the destruction of Deerfield, mounting his horse, he rode seventy miles to Boston, and offered his services to governor Dudley. He afterwards sent a letter to the governor of Canada, threatening to lay waste his country if he persisted in his depredations.

courage and address, by putting on men's hats and other articles to resemble soldiers, and firing with great spirit, to impress the enemy with a belief that the garrison was formidable. On their retreat from the place, they killed John Wheeler, his wife and two children; four other children escaped, by secreting themselves in a cave.

In the course of the year, a force of about two hundred and seventy French and Indians, hovered on the frontiers and attacked several places. At Dunstable, a garrisoned house was surprised and burnt. At Reading, within twelve miles of Boston, a woman and her three children, were killed, and five others captured.

Chelmsford, Sudbury, Groton, Dover, and some other towns suffered the loss of people, killed or taken. At Exeter an attempt was made to kill colonel Hilton, an officer who had been active against the enemy, and whom they had marked for destruction. Secreting themselves near his house they eagerly waited to execute their design. In the mean time ten men went from the house to their labor, and depositing their arms, commenced cutting grass; observing this, the Indians crept between the arms and the laborers, and suddenly rushing on, fired and killed four, wounded one, and captured three others. This produced an alarm, and saved the colonel from the snare.

During the year 1707, the enemy made a few incursions on the eastern towns. Several men were killed at Oyster river and Exeter; and a party of people were ambuscaded between the latter town and Kingston; but fortunately escaped. Marlborough also sustained some loss. In the course of the year, an expedition was fitted out from New England, against Port Royal. Col. March, with seven hundred men, and a small naval force, arrived before the place, and after a skirmish with an advance party, commenced a bombardment; but the attack proved unsuccessful, and the army returned without effecting any important service. Connecticut, apprehending an attack on their northwest frontier, from the neighboring Indians, as well as those of Canada, ordered the towns of Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury and Danbury, to be fortified; and several Indians, at Stratford and Fairfield, were kept as hostages. In 1708, the French sent

out a force of about 400 French and Indians against New England under Hertel de Rouville, De Chaillons and La Perriere, and a body of Mohawks, accompanied the army; but the latter soon returned home. At the break of day, on the 29th of August, an attack was made on Haverhill, on Merrimack river; most of the houses were plundered and burnt, about forty people killed, and a considerable number captured. Among the latter were Capt. Wainwright, and the Rev. Mr. Rolfe minister of the place. On the retreat, the enemy were pursued by a body of troops, who were stationed near, and a skirmish took place, in which several of the enemy fell, among whom was a brother of Rouville, and another French officer; several of the captives were recovered.

Small parties of the enemy made incursions on the Connecticut, in the course of the season. In October, Ebenezer Field was killed near Bloody Brook, in Deerfield. A scout from this place, returning from White river in the present state of Vermont, lost one Barber, and Martin Kellogg, jun. was captured.\* This year, a body of infantry and cavalry from Connecticut, under Col. Whiting, were employed to guard the upper towns on Connecticut river, in Massachusetts.

The depredations of the enemy on the frontiers, thus continuing, the British government resolved on an expedition for the reduction of Canada. A squadron of ships was ordered to rendezvous at Boston, and five regiments of regular troops, to be joined by twelve hundred provincials from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, under Col. Vetch, were to proceed up the St. Lawrence, and attack Quebec. Fifteen hundred provincials from Connecticut, New-York, Jersey and Pennsylvania, with a body of Mohawks, were to proceed by the way of Lake Champlain, and attack Montreal, under Col. Nicholson. The troops from Massachusetts were ready for service by the twentieth of May, 1709; but as the squadron expected from England did not arrive, they were not embarked. The force under Nicholson, assembled at Albany, according to orders, and advancing up the Hudson, took a position at Wood Creek,

\* *White* and *Wells*' rivers in Vermont were known at this time, by their present names.

in the present town of Fort Ann, in the state of New York, where they built a fort and several block houses, and made preparations for passing the lake. The troops proving sickly, many dying, and the expedition from Boston being likely to fail, Nicholson decamped and returned to Albany in October, where the troops were disbanded.

While Nicholson lay at Wood creek, the governor of Canada, informed of his position, detached one thousand five hundred French and Indians to attack him; but after advancing about one hundred miles, and finding Nicholson numerically superior, and in a fortified camp, they returned to the French advanced posts in Canada, to await his approach. If we may credit Charlevoix, the Mohawks who joined Nicholson, proved treacherous. He states that while the army was encamped on the banks of a small river, the Indians, who spent most of their time in hunting, threw their skins into the river a little above the camp, which soon corrupted the water, and the English without suspecting the treachery, continued to drink of it, which caused such mortality among them that Father Mareuil, and two officers, who afterwards passed over the camp, judged by the graves, that at least a thousand must have been buried.\* Others state that many died as if they had been poisoned.†

The French, notwithstanding the threatened invasion of Canada, kept small parties of Indians on the frontiers of New England. In April, Mehuman Hinsdale was captured on the road between Hatfield and Northampton, as he was driving his team home to Deerfield, and conveyed to Canada, whence he sailed to France, and at length returned home by the way of England. The next month lieutenant John Wells and John Burt, were killed in a skirmish on Onion river, in Vermont; the scout to

\* Hutchinson, Vol. ii, p. 163. Mareuil had been a prisoner at Albany.

† In a manuscript journal of this expedition, by the Rev. Thomas Buckingham, of Hartford, who was chaplain of the Connecticut forces, commanded by colonel Whiting, the names of several commanders of regiments are gathered. Besides colonel Whiting, there were colonel Peter Schuyler, colonel Ingoldsby, colonel Livingston, colonel Matthews, and colonel Riggs. The journal notices a body of two hundred French and Indians at Crown point, and some small parties hovering about the camp. Fort Edward is called *Fort Nicholson*; the fatal sickness is also mentioned.

which they belonged, had penetrated to lake Champlain, where they killed several of the enemy.

In the month of June another attempt was made on Deerfield, by one hundred and eighty French and Indians under one of the Rouvilles. Many of the inhabitants had recently returned from Canada, and their sufferings had produced a more vigilant military police, by which they discovered the enemy at a distance from the town, and prepared for defence, which induced Rouville to withdraw. But while he lay in the vicinity, Joseph Clessen and John Arms were made prisoners, and Jonathan Williams and Matthew Clessen killed, and Lieutenant Taylor and Isaac Mattoon wounded. A few people were taken this year at Exeter and Oyster river; but the frontiers in that quarter were so guarded by scouting parties, under colonel Hilton and captain Davis, that no great disaster occurred. The town of Brookfield lost a few people the same year, by small parties of Indians.

The following year, 1710, an armament consisting of five frigates and a bomb ketch, a regiment of marines from England, and four regiments raised in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, under colonels Hobby, Tailor, Wallon, and Whitney, the whole commanded by colonel Nicholson, sailed from Boston, besieged and captured Port Royal, then under the command of M. Subercase, who after sustaining a cannonade a few days, surrendered by capitulation, and the name of the place was changed by the English to that of Annapolis.

On the eastern frontiers, depredations continued through the summer. At Chelmsford, Winterharbor, Kingston, Cocheco, York, and Berwick, several people were killed or captured. Colonel Hilton, of Exeter, had for some time been marked for destruction by the Indians, and they at length found an opportunity of carrying the design into execution. Being in the woods with a party of men, about fourteen miles from home, at the masting business, a party of the enemy rushed on, and on the first fire killed the colonel and two of his men; the others escaped. The next day one hundred people from Exeter, arrived on the ground and found the mangled bodies of the slain; the colonel's head was fractured by tomahawks, and a spear found pierced through his heart. The loss of this valua-

ble officer was much regretted by New Hampshire. Some incursions were also made at Marlborough and Brookfield. At the latter place about the twentieth of July, Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg were killed while employed in making hay. The Indians came upon them by surprise, and little resistance was made. White was first made prisoner, but attempting to escape, was killed.

Not long after the capture of Port Royal, colonel Nicholson sailed for England, to solicit another expedition against Canada, and in the early part of June, 1711, he returned to Boston, with orders for the northern provinces to be prepared with their quotas of troops and provision, by the time a naval force and a land army should arrive from England. On the twenty fifth of June, sir Hovenden Walker reached Boston with a squadron of armed vessels, transports, and seven regiments of the duke of Marlborough's veteran troops, and a battalion of marines, under the command of brigadier general Hill. The troops landed on Noddle's island, where they were joined by two regiments of provincials, the whole amounting nearly to seven thousand, with an ample train of artillery. An army of provincials was ordered to assemble at Albany, to penetrate to Canada by lake Champlain, under the command of colonel Nicholson.

The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July, and arrived at the mouth of St. Lawrence about the twentieth of August. Here, meeting with contrary winds and thick fogs, eight or nine of the transports were driven among rocks and islands on the north shore, and wrecked, and about one thousand men lost. The admiral then bore away for Spanish river bay, in cape Breton, where a council of land and naval officers judged it expedient to abandon the enterprise; and the fleet returned to England, and the provincials to Boston.

Meanwhile colonel Nicholson repaired to Albany, took the command of the forces assembled at that place, from New Jersey, Connecticut and New York, amounting to about four thousand with a body of Mohawks; and marched for lake George. But receiving intelligence of the disaster and failure of the armament, destined against

Quebec, he returned to Albany, and the expedition was again abandoned. The failure of this third attempt to conquer Canada, on which the most confident reliance of success, had been placed, was a serious discouragement to the northern Provinces; and many pious people were impressed with the belief, that providence had predetermined, that all attempts should be frustrated.

The frontiers of Massachusetts, remained this year, without any serious depredations; but the town of Dover in New Hampshire, suffered the loss of several people, in the early part of the year. Thomas Downes, John Church and three others were killed; and John Horn and Humphry Foss, soon after, fell into an ambuscade, as they were returning from public worship; the former was wounded and the latter captivated.

Relieved from the fears of an invasion, the governor of Canada, the next year sent out parties in various directions. Early in the Spring, they fell upon Oyster river, Exeter, Kittery, York and Wells, and committed some damage; and in July the same towns, as well as Dover and Kingston, suffered some loss of people. In the fall of the year, Wells was again visited by the enemy, and several people attending a wedding were captured, among whom was Mr. Plaisted, the bridegroom, a son of a gentleman at Portsmouth; but before the enemy left the vicinity, he was ransomed, at the *moderate* price of three hundred pounds.

On the Connecticut, no important incursions were made, this year; but scouts were vigilant, and the northern woods effectually scoured. In August a scout from Deerfield, towards the Hudson, under serjeant Samuel Taylor, was attacked, and Samuel Andross killed; Jonathan Barrett wounded, and with William Sandford, taken and conveyed to Canada, where meeting lieutenant Samuel Williams, with a flag, they were ransomed and returned to Deerfield.

The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, ended the war in Europe, and a suspension of arms was proclaimed the twenty ninth of October in New England; and on the eleventh of July the next year, peace was concluded with the Indians at Portsmouth. Col. Stoddard of Northampton,



was this year sent to Canada, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners.

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## CHAPTER XII.

THE war which had so long distressed the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, effectually prevented the progress of settlements to the north and west. On Connecticut river, none were made higher than at the commencement of Philip's war. From 1703, to 1713, the inhabitants were constantly harrassed with calls for military service, agriculture was consequently neglected, many people were killed and captured, a heavy public debt incurred, and the population of the country was vastly below what it would have been, had an uninterrupted peace been maintained. According to Hutchinson, from 1675, the beginning of Philip's war, to 1713, five or six thousand of the youth of the country had perished by the enemy, or diseases contracted by the war; nine in ten of these would have been fathers of families, and in the course of forty years, must have multiplied to near one hundred thousand.\*

In the eastern quarter of New England, the frontiers were limited by a chain of towns along the sea coast, and a few extending up the Merrimack. Lancaster was the northerly town in the present county of Worcester, and Deerfield in the county of Hampshire. Immediately after the peace of 1713, the people who had been driven from Northfield returned to their plantations, rebuilt their houses, and one for public worship; and in 1718 they settled Mr. Benjamin Doolittle from Wallingford, Con. as minister of the place, which then consisted of about thirty families. Albany and Schenectady were the northern towns in the province of New York. The northern and western part of New Hampshire, the whole of Vermont, the western part of Massachusetts, and the northern and western part of New York, were a wilderness little known to the English. The latter province, in queen Anne's war maintained a neutrality with the five

\* History of Massachusetts, Vol. ii, p. 183.

nations, who were a grand check to the Canada Indians, and their frontiers suffered little molestation during the war. The Dutch inhabitants of Albany and Schenectady, at this time, carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians of the five nations in furs; and the Canadian Indians were in some instances, suffered to pass unmolested through the northerly part of the province, in their inroads upon the frontiers of New England. And it is stated on good authority, that the plunder taken from the western settlers in Massachusetts, was not unfrequently sold at Albany. Some of the principal inhabitants, however, were sensible of the impropriety of this conduct, and condemned it with severity; Col. Schuyler was an honorable exception. Through information derived from the neutral Indians, he was often apprised of the designs of the enemy, and generously notified the frontiers of Massachusetts of their danger, and of the places designated for destruction.

Nor was the war less embarrassing to the progress of settlements and population in Canada. In 1714, the whole number of inhabitants, from fourteen to sixty years of age, able to bear arms, was four thousand four hundred and eighty four. The standing forces at this time, were twenty eight companies of marines, paid by the king, containing six hundred and twenty eight men;\* but their Indians were numerous, always ready to turn out on short notice, and as they were frequently led by daring French officers, their incursions were generally attended with distressing consequences.

Relieved from the war, the inhabitants of New England, now turned their attention to their internal affairs, and the improvement of their plantations; and the settlers who had been shut up in fortified houses, or driven from their plantations, now flattered themselves, that they should not again be molested by the Indians. But this was a vain hope, for a renewal of war between England and France, must necessarily produce hostilities between their colonies, and all the horrors of savage war must be again sustained. A fleet sufficient to block up the St. Lawrence, and a small invading army by lake Champlain under an able commander, would have put an end to the

\* Holmes' Annals, on the authority of Charlevoix, Vol. ii. p. 88.

embarrassments, so long suffered by the English colonies.

The colony of Connecticut, though it often furnished men for the war, being little exposed to the inroads of the enemy, began to exhibit a considerable degree of improvement. In 1713, exclusive of those on long Island, she had forty towns, which sent deputies to the general assembly. The population at this time, according to Trumbull, did not exceed seventeen thousand, which is much below that given in the first part of this chapter. In each county was a regiment of militia, the whole amounting nearly to four thousand. Their shipping consisted of two brigantines, and about twenty sloops and other small vessels, and a considerable trade was carried on with the West Indies.\*

During the various wars with the Indians, those in the eastern part of New England, had proved extremely troublesome. Since the close of the war with Philip, in 1676, they had, excepting in a few short intervals, been in open hostility with the English; and this spirit was supposed to be kept up by the baron Castine, until he left the country. Other French agents afterwards residing among them, fostered their jealousy. A jesuit, by the name of Sebastian Rolle, now resided at Norridge-wock, on the Kennebeck, and being a man of great influence among the Indians, he instigated them to insult and annoy the frontier settlers. Apprehensive that a war might soon follow, colonel Shute who had succeeded Dudley as governor, in August 1717, held a conference with the Indians at Arrowsick island, and after some difficulties were settled, respecting the lands to the eastward of the Kennebeck, renewed the treaty of 1713. Still apprehensions were entertained from the influence of father Rolle; but the Indians continued peaceable for several years.

A phenomenon singular at the time, and still unsatisfactorily explained, alarmed the people of New England in 1719. This was the *Aurora Borealis*, first noticed in the country, on the night of the seventeenth of December. It is thus described by a writer of the time. "At eleven o'clock in the evening, there arose a bright

\* Trumbull, Vol. ii, p. 451.

light in the N. E. like that which arises from an house when on fire; which soon spread itself through the heavens from east to west, and was unusually broad. It streamed with white flames, or streams of light, down to the horizon, very bright and strong. When I first saw it, which was when it extended itself over the horizon, from E. to W. it was brightest in the middle, which was from me N. W; and I could resemble it to nothing but the light of some fire. I could plainly see streams of light redder than ordinary, and there seemed to be an undulating motion of the whole light; so thin that I could plainly see the stars through it. Below this stream or glade of light, there lay in the horizon, some thick clouds, bright on the tops or edges; it lasted somewhat more than an hour, though the light of its red color continued but a few minutes. About eleven at night, the same appearance was visible again; but the clouds hindered its being so accurately observed, as I could wish. Its appearance now was somewhat dreadful—sometimes it looked of a flame, sometimes of a blood red color, and the whole N. E. horizon was very bright, and looked as though the moon had been near her rising. About an hour or two before break of day, the next morning, it was seen again, and those who saw it say it was then most terrible.”

That so novel and singular an appearance should have produced great consternation, is not extraordinary. At this day, by many, it is not beheld without foreboding apprehensions. When first seen in England, the consternation was equally great. One who saw it gives the following description. “The brightness, bloodiness, and frinness of the colours, together with the swiftness of the motions, increased insomuch, as we could hardly trace them with our eyes, till at length almost all the whole heavens appeared as if they were set on flame; which wrought, and glimmered, with flashes in a most dreadful and indiscribable manner. It seemed to threaten us with an immediate descent, and deluge of fire, filled the streets with loud and doleful outcries and lamentations, and frightened a great many people into their houses. And we began to think whether the son of God was next to make his glorious and terrible appearance, or the conflagration

of the world was now begun ; for the elements seemed just as if they were melting with fervent heat, and the ætherial vault to be burning over us, like the fierce agitations of the blaze of a furnace, or at the top of a fiery oven. And the glimmering light looked as if it proceeded from a more glorious body behind, that was approaching nearer, and about to make its sudden appearance to our eyes.”\*

The Aurora Borealis was first noticed in Europe about 1560 ; from that time it was occasionally seen, though unattended with any extraordinary brilliancy, until 1623 ; from that time for more than eighty years, we have no account of a similar phenomenon being observed. In 1707, and 1708, it was noticed several times ; and in 1716, Dr. Halley observed and described a very brilliant one, which spread over most of the north of Europe. Since that time, until twenty or thirty years past, it has been common in our latitudes, often extending southerly of the zenith, and of great brilliancy ; and from its frequency, has in a manner ceased to alarm.†

\* T. Prince's Letter, Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. ii, p. 14.—(*New Series*.)

† Various theories have been proposed to explain the northern lights. Lavoisier advances one founded on chemical principles, not altogether destitute of probability. He says “ It is possible, and even extremely probable that, both at the first creation, and every day, gases are formed, which are difficultly miscible with atmospheric air, and are continually separating from it. If these gasses be specifically lighter than the general atmospheric mass, they must, of course, gather in the highest regions, and form strata that float upon the common air. The phenomena which accompany igneous meteors induce me to believe, that there exists in the upper parts of our atmosphere, a stratum of inflammable fluid, in contact with those strata of air in which the phenomena of the aurora borealis and other fiery appearances are produced.”—(*Elements of Chemistry, Part i, Chap. 2.*) But none appear more plausible than that which supposes a disturbance of the equilibrium of the electric matter of the atmosphere. One grand obstacle however, presents itself to this, as well as to all other theories that have been proposed. Why was not the phenomenon noticed by ancient philosophers and historians ? Though some slight hints are found in the works of Aristotle, Seneca and Pliny, of similar appearances, it is certain that the Aurora was of rare occurrence in our latitudes, until about a century ago, and indeed it was scarcely known previous to that time. Is it periodical ? That it is, appears at least probable. It is now much less frequent than twenty or thirty years ago. A theory has been advanced in support of this supposition, founded on the well known fact that electricity and magnetism are closely connected. The line of no variation, which is supposed to move round the earth in about a thousand years, and consequently to return to the same situation it occupied at the beginning of that period, is supposed to carry with it the corruscations of the Aurora in the heavens. A thousand years ago, when the line of no variation occupied the same situation that it does now, and the Aurora shone forth in its splendor, the nations of Europe were sunk in ignorance and barbarism ; and whatever phenomena the heavens presented, were lost to posterity,

During the calm which followed the peace of Utrecht, the people extended their settlements to the north and west. In 1720, the Massachusetts legislature granted two towns on Housatonic river, which included what are now Sheffield and Great Barrington, and part of Stockbridge, in the county of Berkshire. The lands were bought of the Indians, but they reserved two small tracts, one at Statchook, in Sheffield, the other eight or ten miles up the river, at Waahktoohook, in Stockbridge. As the line between Massachusetts and New York was unsettled at this time, it was doubtful whether the grant was within the limits of Massachusetts.

New York about this time extended their settlements to the north and west; a trading house was built at Oswego in 1722, on lake Ontario, for the convenience of traffic with the western Indians, and in the course of that year, fifty seven canoes ascended the Mohawk, thence proceeding down Wood creek, Oneida lake, and Onondaga river, to that post, whence they returned to Schenectady, with seven hundred and thirty eight packs of beaver and deer skins. The route was soon after frequented by the distant western tribes about Detroit and Michillimacinae, and Schenectady and Albany became great marts for peltry.

While the province of New York was thus prosecuting an advantageous trade with the Indians on their frontiers, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, were again compelled to open hostilities with those on their northern and eastern borders. Instigated by the jesuit Rolle, they began their usual depredations. In 1722, colonel Westbrook, with two hundred and thirty men, was sent to the eastward to chastise the enemy. Entering the Penobscot, he proceeded up to an Indian village of about twenty three well finished cabins, surrounded by a stockaded work, without which was a church, sixty by thirty feet, well finished, with a convenient house, the dwelling of the priest; but the Indians had fled into the woods previous to his arrival. Westbrook, after burning the village returned home. The Indians soon revenged the

from the rudeness and want of knowledge of the people of that age. The theory is gratuitous, and remains to be verified, or refuted in future times.—See *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Article, *Aurora Borealis*.

injury by destroying the town of Berwick, which produced a declaration of war against the Indians, by Massachusetts, in July 1722.

The western frontiers of Massachusetts now roused to their danger, repaired their fortifications and prepared to secure themselves against hostile incursions. Deerfield and Northfield were still the frontiers on the Connecticut; a few houses had, however, been built at Greenfield. The next year a strong fort was erected on the west bank of Connecticut river, about six miles above Northfield, in the present town of Vernon, in Vermont; furnished with a garrison, and named *Dummer*, after lieutenant governor Dummer, and soon after, several people settled in the vicinity, the first settlement made in Vermont.

Massachusetts at this time contained upwards of ninety four thousand inhabitants, and its militia was composed of sixteen regiments of infantry, and fifteen companies of cavalry; besides the alarm list, which was about one third more than the training bands, and were exempted from impresses and quarterly trainings.

New Hampshire took spirited measures for defence. They enlisted men for two years, and established respectable pay for the troops. A captain, seven pounds; lieutenant, four pounds:—serjeant fifty eight, corporal forty five, and a private forty shillings per month; and one hundred pounds bounty was offered for each Indian scalp. Orders were given for cutting a road to, and building a fort at Winipisogee pond, but these were afterwards countermanded.

The first attack in New Hampshire, was at Dover, in 1723, about the last of August; the place that had so often suffered in the former wars, where the enemy surprised the house of Joseph Ham who was killed, and three of his children taken. Soon after Tristram Heard, was killed at the same place. Aaron Rawlins, and one of his children were killed, and his wife and three children captured soon after at Lamprey river. Scouting parties were kept up on the eastern frontiers, and captain Moulton penetrated to Norridgewock, and brought off a box of papers and books, the property of Rolle. The Indians were absent, but no injury was done to the village.

In the western quarter of Massachusetts, the enemy began their incursions on the thirteenth of August. Two men were killed at Northfield; the next day a man and his four sons were surprised at Rutland, as they were laboring in a meadow; the sons were killed, but the father escaped. Mr. Willard, minister of the place, accidentally meeting the enemy, was also killed. About the same time one man was killed at Dover, and another at Arundel.

On the eleventh of October, seventy of the enemy attacked fort Dummer, and killed and wounded four or five of the people. Col. Stoddard of Northampton, then intrusted with the defence of this quarter, immediately marched from that place with fifty men; but the enemy had withdrawn from the fort before he arrived. A body of Connecticut forces stationed at Northfield, had been drawn off from that place the preceding day. That province, as in the former wars, maintained troops on the frontiers of Massachusetts, but their subsistence was furnished by the latter province.

The next year, the enemy were active on the frontiers in the eastern quarter, and Kingston, Oyster river, Chester, Dover, and many other places, suffered some loss of people. In the affair at Dover, the enemy lay secreted some time in the vicinity of the house of one Hanson, a quaker, and while he was absent at a meeting with a daughter, entered his house, killed two of his children, and captured his wife, three children and another woman. Hanson made two journeys to redeem his family, and succeeded in obtaining all except one daughter, who afterwards married a Frenchman. In the month of May, Capt. Winslow with seventeen men of the garrison of the fort at St. George's river, were surrounded by thirty canoes of Indians, and he and thirteen of his men killed, the others escaped. The captain was the grandson of Gen. Winslow of Plymouth, and had recently left college.

In the month of June, the van of a scout returning to Deerfield, from the northern woods, was ambuscaded on the road near *Rocky Mountain*, about a mile north of the present village of Greenfield, and Ebenezer Sheldon, Thomas Colten and Jeremiah English, the latter a friendly



Indian, killed; the main body of the scout coming up, the Indians immediately fled into the woods. The next month a party of people, returning from their labor in Deerfield north meadow, were fired upon by a party of Indians secreted in the margin of the woods on *pine hill*; Lieut. Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen were wounded, but the whole escaped, Childs by dashing through an adjacent pond—Both of the wounded recovered.

Not long after one man was killed and two taken at Hatfield; at Groton one was killed, and three at Rutland, and another captured in August, at the latter place. The same month a house was attacked at Oxford, and the enemy beaten off by a resolute woman, and soon after one man was killed and another captured at Berwick. On the twenty fifth, one man was killed and one wounded at Northampton, on Connecticut river.

Finding the incursions of the Indians likely to continue, through the machinations of the jesuit Rolle, the government of Massachusetts resolved to carry an expedition to Norridgewock, for the purpose of destroying the place, and seizing the instigator of the war. Two hundred and eight men were put under the command of captains Harman and Moulton, and provided with whale boats, to proceed up the Kennebeck. Leaving fort Richmond, the eighth of August, they arrived at Taconick, the next day, where they left their boats under a guard of a lieutenant and forty men; the next day they commenced their march for Norridgewock, and in the evening captured the wife and daughter of Bomazeen, a well known chief, from whom they obtained exact knowledge of the state and position of the village. On the twelfth, they approached the place; Earman with a part of the force took a route by the Indian *cornfields*, where it was supposed a part of the enemy would be found, while Moulton, with the remainder, continued on the direct route. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the latter came suddenly in view of the village, and found the Indians quiet in their cabins. Moulton then ordered his men to approach, as silently as possible, and make a close attack. An Indian at this time coming out of his cabin, discovered the English, and gave the alarm, on which sixty warriors instantly turned out, and advanced to the

attack, while the old men, women and children fled. Moulton reserved his fire until the Indians gave theirs, which proved harmless, most of the shot passing over the heads of the English; he then poured in his fire which made unusual slaughter. The enemy then gave a second shot, and many fled towards the river, closely pursued by the English; some leaping into canoes, without paddles, others took to the water and attempted to swim, or wade over. As the river was narrow and of little depth, some effected their escape into the woods on the opposite side; but the greatest proportion were cut down by the English fire. Moulton then returned to the village, where the jesuit Rolle was firing from his cabin upon a party of his men, who had previously arrived. Orders had been given to seize Rolle alive, if possible, but his resistance rendered this difficult. Lieutenant Jaques stove in the door, and finding him resolutely recharging his gun for another shot, and refusing to ask for quarter, sent a ball through his head. The old veteran Mog, attempting to defend himself in another cabin, was shot down with several others, and some were made prisoners. Having cleared the village of the enemy, it was plundered of all that was valuable, the plate, furniture of the chapel, and the devotional flag hoisted over it, not excepted. At night Moulton encamped in the place and Harman, having completed his detour, without meeting the enemy, joined him.

The next morning twenty six dead bodies of the enemy, besides that of Rolle, were found; among which were Bomazeen, Mog, Job, Carabesett, Wisememet, and Bomazeen's son in law, all noted warriors; in the whole eighty are said to have fallen. The village was set on fire, and the English returned to Taconick, and joined the guard left at that place; and proceeding down the river, they arrived at Richmond fort, on the sixteenth of August, with a small loss. The scalps taken from the dead, were conveyed to Boston. This severe blow proved the ruin of the Norridgewock tribe, and very much disheartened the remaining hostile Indians.

The jesuit Rolle, had been a very active agent in, if not the principal cause of the war, and his death was considered as a very auspicious event by the English.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he was a loss to the literary world. Previous to his residence at Norridgewock, he had spent six years in travelling among the various tribes in the interior of America, and he had learned most of their languages. He was nearly forty years a missionary, twenty six of which he had spent at Norridgewock among the Indians; and with their manners and customs he had become intimately acquainted. His letters on various subjects, evince that he was a man of superior natural powers, which had been improved by an education in a college of jesuits in Europe. With the learned languages he was thoroughly acquainted, and by his assiduity he had taught many of his converts to write and read, and to correspond with him in their own language. With the principal clergymen of Boston, he held a correspondence in Latin—possessed great skill in controversy—and made some attempts at Indian poetry. Pride was his foible; he took great pleasure in railery—made the offices of devotion incentives to Indian ferocity, and even kept a flag on which was depicted a cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of his church when he gave the Indians absolution, previous to their engaging in any enterprise. A Dictionary of the Norridgewock language, composed by him, was found among his papers, which is now deposited in the Library of Harvard College. It is a 4to. volume of about five hundred pages. Rolle was in the 67th year of his age when he was killed.\*

Animated at the successful expedition of Harman and Moulton, Massachusetts government ordered out colonel Westbrook with three hundred men, to scour the frontiers of the country between Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, and another body visited Norridgewock; but the Indians had retired back to the more northerly wilderness, and joined the tribes in that quarter. As a further inducement for a constant supply of scouts, the government of Massachusetts granted a bounty of one hundred pounds on each Indian scalp, the sum already allowed by New Hampshire. In the course of this year, Dunstable suffered the loss of six men killed, and several taken prisoners. Kingston also lost a few people.

\* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. ii.—Holmes' Annals, Vol. ii.

On the twenty fifth of August, the next year, a party of people from Deerfield, were ambuscaded on the road near *Green River Farms*. The Indians posted on an eminence were discovered before they opened their fire, and the party, after giving them a shot, retreated towards a mill in the vicinity, but receiving a fire from the eminence, deacon Samuel Field was severely wounded, brought off and recovered.\*

The principal incursions of the enemy during the war, were directed towards the eastern towns, and those on Connecticut river suffered little from the enemy. The people however were on their guard, and parties scouted the northern woods. In this service Benjamin Wright, of Northampton, captain of a company of volunteers raised in the county of Hampshire, was active. In the month of July, 1725, he proceeded from Northfield with his corps, consisting of about sixty men, and two subaltern officers; ascended the Connecticut as high as the mouth of Wells' river, part of his men in a light canoe. At this place he deposited his canoe and part of his provisions, and proceeding up Wells' river, and passing several small lakes, struck Onion river, which he pursued until within sight of lake Champlain. Provisions being now exhausted, he returned to his depot, at the mouth of Wells' river, and thence to Northfield, without discovering the enemy.†

In the eastern quarter, scouts were also vigilant. Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, raised a volunteer corps in the early part of the winter 1724, to penetrate the woods in search of the enemy. With a small party he had killed one and captured another, to the northward of Winnipiseogee lake, and received the bounty from government. The same winter, he made a second expedition into the northern wilderness, surprised and killed ten In-

\* This took place in the road a few rods south of the court house in Greenfield,

† From the journal of captain Wright, now before me, it appears that the extreme point of his route from Northfield, was two hundred and seventy nine miles; and consequently his whole march, going and returning, five hundred and fifty eight miles. Twenty eight days were spent on the outward tour, and probably about the same number on the return. The journal mentions "a fort at the mouth of Wells' river"—Probably a small stockade, for the security of the scouts. *White*, *Black* and *Wells'* river are mentioned by their present names; and *Pomroy's*, *Hawley's* and *Paddle islands*, in Connecticut river, and its several falls.

dians, as they were sleeping at a fire by the margin of a frozen pond, since known by his name, in the town of Wakefield, in New Hampshire. Lovewell and his party received out of Massachusetts treasury, one thousand pounds for the ten scalps.

Elated with his success, on the twenty sixth of April, 1725, he marched on his third expedition, with a design of surprising the villages of Pigwacket, on the upper part of the river Saco, in what is now the town of Fryeburg in the western part of Maine; having under his command forty six men, including a chaplain, surgeon and four commissioned officers. On the march two men, falling sick or lame, were dismissed, with one man to accompany them. Arriving at Ossipee pond, another man becoming sick, Lovewell built a small stockade fort, and left his surgeon, a serjeant and seven men, with a quantity of provisions. Reduced now to thirty four men, Lovewell continued his march for Pigwacket, and encamped on the east side of a pond, not far from his place of destination, on the evening of the seventh of May. Uncommon noises in the night, induced a belief that the Indians were about the camp, and in the morning, the report of a gun, and discovery of an Indian on a jutting point of land, convinced Lovewell that his conjecture was not without foundation. Suspecting that the Indian on the point, had been placed as a decoy, and that a body of the enemy might be in the front, the men deposited their packs in an open pine wood, near the N. E. angle of the pond, and advanced towards the Indian, distant between one and two miles. Immediately after their departure, forty one Indians, who were returning from an expedition down the Saco, under two noted leaders, Pagus and Waha, discovered Lovewell's trail, and following it, found and seized the packs; and upon counting them, ascertained that his force was numerically inferior to their own; they then planted an ambuscade on the spot, ready for an attack. Lovewell in the mean time pressing on towards the Indian, met him returning, who immediately discharged his gun and wounded Lovewell, and Samuel Whitney, with beaver shot; on which ensign Wyman fired, killed him, and took his scalp. No other enemy being discovered, Lovewell retraced his

march to the place where the packs had been left, and found they were missing; a search was commenced, on which the Indians rose, and with a horrid yell, rushed on and gave their fire; the English met them and fired nearly at the same time, and a severe conflict ensued, but the Indians were driven a little back. Capt. Lovewell, ensign Harwood, serjeant Fulham, John Jeffs, Jonathan Kitridge, Daniel Woods, Ichabod Johnson, Thomas Woods and Jonah Davis, were killed. Lieut. Farwell, lieutenant Robbins and Robert Usher, were wounded. The survivors, with the wounded, then fell back to the pond, and took a position where a point of rocks secured the left, and an unfordable brook the right, a morass stretching along part of the front; and covering themselves behind trees, they renewed the attack on the enemy, who had now pressed closely on, and opened their fire with great spirit. Ensign Seth Wyman, who now commanded, resolving to maintain his position to the last extremity, continued his fire with great spirit, and several of his men were soon badly wounded. Every art was essayed by the enemy, to induce the English to surrender; but disregarding them, they continued their fire, with destructive effect. Towards night the yells and fire of the Indians became less frequent, from which it was concluded they were about to draw off, and the conjecture proved correct: for after collecting their killed and wounded, they disappeared about sunset, leaving the bodies of Lovewell and others, who fell in the first attack, unscalped. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be severe; among which, it was afterwards ascertained, was the chief, Pagus.

On collecting his shattered remnant, Wyman found lieutenant Robbins, Jacob Farrar and Robert Usher, so badly wounded that they could not be removed. Lieut. Robbins, conscious of his fate, requested his companions to load his gun, that he might despatch another of the enemy, should they return to the spot. Among those who were less severely wounded, were lieutenant Farwell, Mr. Frie the chaplain, serjeant Johnson, Josiah Johnson, Timothy Richardson, Samuel Whiting, Elias Barron, John Chamberlain, Isaac Lakin, Eleazer Davis and Josiah Jones. Solomon Kies had fortunately escaped, though

badly wounded. At the rising of the moon about midnight, the wounded men conducted by nine others, viz. ensign Wyman, Edward Lingfield, Thomas Richardson, Eleazer Melvin, David Melvin, Ebenezer Ayer, Abiel Asten, Joseph Farrar, and Joseph Gelson, began their march for Ossipee pond. After travelling about a mile, Mr. Frie, lieutenant Farwell, Davis and Jones of the wounded, unable to proceed were left in the woods. The remainder pursued their march. Before arriving at the fort at Ossipee pond, three Indians were seen, which produced an alarm and some disorder; and Elias Barron, one of the wounded, straggling from his party was lost in the woods. On arriving at the fort, it was found to be abandoned by the guard; but a small quantity of provisions were fortunately left. It afterwards appeared that one man at the commencement of the action, had deserted, and on reaching the fort, informed the garrison that Lovewell and his company had been cut off; on which the guard made a precipitate retreat. Wyman after refreshing his men, marched for home, but was compelled to leave several others of his wounded. Lieut. Farwell and the chaplain Mr. Frie, perished in the woods; the others arrived home in scattered parties, after enduring the severest sufferings, and several of the wounded afterwards came in. Col. Tyng, of Dunstable, soon after, collecting a party of volunteers, proceeded to the scene of action; found and buried the bodies of the slain, and left their names carved upon trees. A generous provision was made by government for the widows and children of the slain.

In this desperate affair, Solomon Kies of Billerica, in Massachusetts, having fought until he had received three wounds, and lost much blood, crept to ensign Wyman, and stating his situation, told him he was inevitably a dead man; but having strength left to creep along the side of the pond, where he intended to secure himself from the scalping knife, he fortunately found an Indian canoe, and with much difficulty rolled himself into it, and pushing it off, the wind wafted him several miles towards the fort. He then crept to land, and finding his strength increased, continued his route, and reached the fort, and at last got home, and was cured of his wounds.\*

\* Mr. Kies was with Lovewell in the attack when the ten scalps were obtained.

Mr. Jonathan Frie, the chaplain, was from Andover, only son of captain Frie of that place; he had but recently received his degree of bachelor of arts, at Cambridge. Not long after being left by ensign Wyman, in company with Lieut. Farwell, Davis and Jones, he found himself about to expire, and unwilling to retard the march of his companions, requested them to leave him to his fate; with which they reluctantly complied. He had kept a journal of the march of Lovewell's company, which was lost with him. Capt. Lovewell, lieutenants Farwell and Robbins, and ensign Harwood, belonged to Dunstable; ensign Wyman to Woburn. Of the seven from Dunstable, all were killed or wounded.\*

The war continuing to rage with unrelenting fury, while England and France were at peace, the governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in the winter of 1725, commissioned three gentlemen to proceed to Canada, to remonstrate with the marquis de Vaudreuil; who was supposed to countenance, if not to aid the savages in the war. William Dudley and Samuel Thaxter were appointed on the part of Massachusetts, and Theodore Atkinson on that of New Hampshire. These gentlemen, proceeding by the route of Albany and the lakes; arrived at Montreal in March, and met Vaudreuil. The commissioners were politely received; but they were not able to effect the object of their mission. A few captives were ransomed, but at an exorbitant price. In the whole of the negotiation, Vaudreuil appeared rather jesuitical, and it was evident he was influenced by some of the ecclesiastics, who constantly attended the conferences.

On their return, the commissioners were furnished with a guard, as far as Crown point; whence they proceeded by fort Ann, and arrived at Albany on the first of May, and soon after returned home.

at Lovewell's pond. In the subsequent war of 1744, he was stationed at Northfield, at the head of a company in the service of the province. A son of this brave man, Col. Kies, is now living at Western in Massachusetts, at the age of eighty two. He served in the same war, as well as that of our revolution, as a distinguished soldier, from whom some of the above facts were obtained.

\* For many particulars of this affair, I am indebted to a pamphlet published by Thomas Simms, attested by Seth Wyman, Ebenezer Ayer, and Abiel Asten, who were in the action.



Though the Indians committed some depredations at Dover after the return of the commissioners, it was soon found that they were not averse to a peace. In December a treaty was concluded at Boston, and the next spring, ratified at Falmouth, which put an end to this predatory war.

The principal tribes engaged in this war, were the Penobscot's, the Norridgewock's, St. Croix, and those of St. Francis and Becancour in Canada; but they received aid from those residing on the St. John's, and other parts of Nova Scotia, and perhaps from other distant tribes; and as the captives were often carried to Montreal, there is little doubt that the Indians in that vicinity, were more or less engaged. The French government did not openly aid the Indians; but their jesuits residing among them, appear to have used their influence in keeping up the barbarous incursions. The conduct of Rolle was not equivocal: that he was the principal cause of the first hostilities, admits of no doubt; had his conduct been friendly his fate would have been different. The war is sometimes designated in history, by the appellation of *Lovewell's war*, from the tragical fate of that officer; but that of the *jesuit's*, or *Rolle's war*, is obviously more appropriate.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

MASSACHUSETTS and New Hampshire, were the only colonies in New England that suffered annoyance in Rolle's war; and the greatest depredations were in the eastern quarter. Connecticut was covered from the enemy by these colonies, but it did not consider itself as wholly disinterested. Small bodies of troops were maintained by that colony, on the frontier towns on the Connecticut; but as the enemy made no great efforts on that river, the troops had no opportunity to distinguish themselves. The peace maintained between New York and the five nations, left that colony to prosecute their former lucrative trade, not only with these, but other western Indians. In the course of the war, Massachusetts made another attempt

to engage these nations in the war against the eastern Indians. Commissioners proceeded to Albany, empowered to offer a bounty for scalps, and valuable presents were made to the Indians; but they succeeded no further than to induce them to send delegates to Boston. Sixty three actually proceeded to that place in August, 1723, when the general court was sitting; but they still declined to involve themselves in the war. Provided their young men inclined to join the English parties, they were at liberty, and might act their pleasure. A few of the spirited young men did, in fact, accompany some of the scouting parties, and two or three were with Moulton, in the attack on Norridgewock. But the negotiation produced no useful effect.

During the war, the small pox made great ravages in Boston, and some of the adjacent towns. Of five thousand eight hundred and eighty nine, who took the disease in the capital, eight hundred and forty four died. At this time no effectual remedy was practised in America, even for alleviating the dreadful scourge; and its appearance excited the greatest terror. From some publications in the transactions of the English philosophical society, respecting inoculation, several of the principal people, among whom was Dr. Cotton Mather, were inclined to attempt the experiment in Boston. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston began with his own family in 1721. Many bigoted people were struck with horror; they considered it as trusting to the arts of man, rather than to Providence; and declared that if any, on whom the experiment was tried, should die; Boylston ought to be treated as a murderer. The populace were so enraged that the family were hardly safe in their own house, and the doctor was insulted as he passed the streets. Many of the faculty joined the wild opposition; several pieces treating the practice with contempt, were published in the news papers; and the magistrates of the town, viewed the experiment as attended with the most dangerous consequences, without even examining the circumstances and facts in its favor.\* A clergyman from Roxbury, having been

\* The determination of the selectmen and some of the physicians, who met to consult upon the subject, deserves to be noticed. It was as follows: "That it appears by numerous instances that inoculation has proved the death of many

privately inoculated in Dr. Mather's house in Boston, and it becoming known, an incendiary in the night, threw a charged hand grenade into the chamber, occupied by the gentleman; but fortunately the fuse was extinguished in passing through the window. A menacing letter was attached to the shell. The opposition was so great, that a bill passed the house of representatives prohibiting all persons from inoculation; but the council were sufficiently enlightened to reject it. In spite of the clamor, Boylston resolutely continued the practice, and about three hundred people were inoculated in Boston and the adjacent towns; and the success ultimately beat down the opposition, and demonstrated the utility of the practice. To the more important discovery of vaccination, by Dr. Jenner in later times, the world is indebted for a method, which, if universally practised would eradicate the variolus disease—one of the most destructive that has afflicted the human race.

Soon after the close of the war, Massachusetts adopted measures to ensure a continuance of amity with the Indians. Trading houses were built at St. Georgis, Kennebec and Saco rivers; another station was selected at fort Dummer on the Connecticut, where goods were furnished by government, to be exchanged for furs brought down the river by the Indians. The business at fort Dummer was submitted to captain Joseph Kellog, who being one of the captives from Deerfield in 1764, had become a good interpreter. Finding that a cheaper trade could be carried on at this station than at those of the French, the Indians resorted to them in considerable numbers. Laws were at the same time passed, restraining private trade, and they found goods at the stations, at the rate they were sold in Boston by retail.

Though this traffic produced no pecuniary profit to the colony, it had a great effect in conciliating the Indians, and in preserving peace for many years; and as it tended

persons, soon after the operation, and brought distempers upon many others, which in the end have proved deadly to them—That the natural tendency of infusing such malignant filth in the mass of blood, is to corrupt and putrify it, and if there be not a sufficient discharge of that malignity, by the place of incision or elsewhere, it lays a foundation for many dangerous diseases—That the continuing the operation among us is likely to prove of the most dangerous consequences." *Hutchinson*, Vol. II.

to stimulate them to industry, it was obviously a more eligible practice than granting them presents.

During this calm, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, granted new towns on their frontiers; and as the line between the two colonies still remained unsettled, the grants sometimes interfered with each other; and difficulties concerning jurisdiction arose. By the construction of their charter, Massachusetts claimed the lands three miles north of the Merrimack, and as this was a very indefinite bound, and not well understood, they made grants at Pennacook and even as far up as Contoocook. In the latter part of 1726, a line of townships were surveyed, extending from Dunstable on the Merrimack, to Northfield on the Connecticut; and liberal grants were made in them to the officers and soldiers who had served in the various wars against the Indians. This alarmed New Hampshire, and they immediately made contiguous grants, in some instances encroaching upon those of Massachusetts. The dispute exciting strong feelings between the two colonies, New Hampshire represented the case to the king, by an agent specially charged with the business; but a decision was delayed several years. In the mean time, Massachusetts extended their grants to the northward and westward; four towns were granted on the east side of Connecticut river, above Northfield, embracing the present towns of Hinsdale, Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Walpole and Charleston; and for several years they were known by their numbers, beginning at Hinsdale; Charleston was *number four*. The towns were generally granted on the condition, that a certain number of families should plant within them in a given time; but as people were not willing to leave the old settlements, the condition was not always fulfilled.

The province of New York, stimulated by the profits of the fur trade, and the desire of holding possession of the country westward, built additional trading houses at Oswego in 1726. This excited the jealousy of the French as interfering with their western trade, and they soon after launched two vessels on lake Ontario, which sailed with materials for a trading house at Niagara, and for strengthening their fort at that place. The succeeding

year, governor Burnet of New York, built a fort for the protection of trade at Oswego. Smith says the expense was defrayed out of his own private purse.

The northern provinces were this year alarmed by an earthquake, which was considered extraordinary for its violence in this part of the country. It commenced at ten o'clock in the evening, of the twenty ninth of October; at the time of a clear and serene sky, preceded by a noise resembling that of a chimney when on fire. The motion was undulatory, and buildings shook with violence—doors flying open, pewter and china thrown from the shelves—stone walls and the tops of chimnies prostrated, and cellar walls tumbling in. Its duration was about two minutes; its direction from the northwest, and its extent from the Kennebec to the Delaware. Other small shocks were perceived in New England, for several months subsequently. No earthquake of equal violence had been witnessed in this part of the country by any of the English inhabitants, and they were consequently greatly alarmed.

A more fatal calamity occurred in New Hampshire and Massachusetts in 1735, from a disease called the throat distemper. It made its first appearance in Kingston, in the former province, in the month of May, and spread gradually through that township during the summer; of forty persons who were first seized with the disorder, all died. In August, it appeared at Exeter, and the next month in Boston, and it continued its ravages until the end of the next summer. In New Hampshire, not less than one thousand persons, of whom nine hundred were under twenty years of age, fell victims to the malignant distemper. In Boston, four thousand persons had the disease, and one hundred and fourteen died. It gradually spread westward, and was two years in reaching the Hudson, and it finally extended over all the colonies. Haverhill suffered most severely; in less than two years, one hundred and ninety nine died at that place.\*

During these physical evils, the controversy between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, respecting their boundary lines, had been carried before the King, and

\* Holmes' Annals; Vol. ii. p. 141.

after considerable efforts on each side by the agents of the respective provinces, was decided by commissioners appointed for the purpose. According to this decision, the boundary was to be a "A similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimac river at three miles distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean and ending at a point due north of Pawtucket falls; and a straight line drawn from thence due west till it meets with his majesty's other governments." This gave New Hampshire a parallelogram fourteen miles in breadth and about fifty in length, more than it had ever claimed; taking from Massachusetts more than nineteen townships of six miles square, between Merrimac and Connecticut rivers, besides those that had been granted on the latter. The decision was so contrary to the expectations of Massachusetts, that, though both provinces were to join in running the line, Massachusetts did not comply, and New Hampshire proceeded *ex parte*, as it was authorized in case of the refusal of Massachusetts. Richard Hazen was appointed to run the line from the assigned point, north of Pawtucket falls, to the western limits of Massachusetts, and he was instructed to make an allowance of ten degrees for west variation of the needle; and in February and March, 1741, he accomplished the business.\* The settlements made above Northfield under grants from Massachusetts, were all north of the boundary; and of course fell into New Hampshire, and a considerable tract was also taken from the original grant of Northfield.

Massachusetts in the mean time continued grants of townships within its limits. In 1736, one six miles square was made to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, including the meadow called Wahnktoohook. The number of Indians then residing at that place, was upwards of ninety. About this time a township was grant-

\* The allowance of ten degrees for variation is supposed, by doctors Belknap and Williams, to have exceeded the real quantity by two degrees, by which they conclude that New Hampshire and Vermont lost a considerable tract of land. At Cambridge, in 1742, the variation was about eight degrees; at the western extremity of the line, it was less; for the line of *no variation* was then near Niagara. If the surveyor continued the same allowance, his line must have been a curve bending to the north, and the loss must have been greater than has been supposed. To run a *right line*, the exact variation must have been ascertained at several points on the line, and the allowance lessened accordingly. But the error arising from this cause was small.

ed adjoining Connecticut river, north of the present town of Greenfield, to the sufferers and their successors in the fight at Turner's falls in 1676, and was called *Falltown*; but now changed to that of Bernardston. Not long after, the whole or part of Colrain, to the west of Falltown, was granted and called by the name of *Boston* township. Plantations were made at Charlemont, on Deerfield river, and at Glasgow, since called Blandford, west of Waranoke, or Westfield; all within the county of Hampshire. A few settlements were also planted at Hoosac, Pontoo-suck, (now Pittsfield,) and Stockbridge, on the west side of Hoosac mountain.

The settlements eastward of Connecticut river, previous to this time, had spread over a considerable extent of territory, and now embraced a population sufficient for a county. In 1731, they were set off by the name of Worcester county, the town of that name being the shire. Though Worcester was granted in 1668, no settlements were made by the English until 1685. From that time to the commencement of queen Anne's war, it received several planters, but it was abandoned during that war. In 1713, measures were taken for a re-settlement, and in 1714, Jonas Rice, with his family, entered upon the town; the next year an accession was made of several other settlers, and in 1718, the number was increased by emigrants from Ireland, and the place soon after rose into note.\* In 1742; the whole county of Worcester contained about three thousand and two hundred taxable persons.†

The frontier towns in New Hampshire at this time were the following. On the Merrimac and its branches, Pennacook, Suncook, Contoocook, New Hopkinton, Souhegan east, and Souhegan west; now Concord, Pembroke, Boscawen, Hopkinton, Merrimac and Amherst. On the Piscataqua and its branches, were Nottingham, Barrington and Rochester. The settlements farther east did not extend far from the sea shore. A few were also planted at Westmoreland, Walpole, Charlestown, (No. 4,) and others on the Ashuelot, at Swanzey, Keene and Hinsdale. The western settlers were generally from Massachusetts.

\* Massachusetts Hist. Col. Vol. i, p. 115.

† Holmes' Annals, Vol. ii, p. 159.

In the province of New York, the frontier settlements on the north, were at West Hoosac, Schaghticoke, Half-Moon, Stillwater, Saratoga, Schenectady, and a few up the Mohawk, as far as German-flats, or Burnet's-field. Most of the settlements that have been named, were confined to the rivers, where the people had seated themselves on the rich alluvial bottoms.

The northern boundary of the settlements in New England and New York in 1742, were limited by a line commencing at St Georges river in Maine, and running south-westerly parallel with the sea coast, embracing two or three ranges of towns, until it intersected the Merrimac at Dunstable; thence up that river to the mouth of the Contoocook, and ascending that river to its source, and continuing across the high lands to the head of Ashuelot river; thence down that stream to Hinsdale, and on a westerly course, crossing Connecticut river at fort Dummer. Leaving the Connecticut at that point, the boundary extended in a southwest direction, crossing Bernardston and Colrain, to North river in the latter town; thence down that river to its junction with Deerfield river, and up this river through the valley of Charlemont, to Hoosac mountain; thence over the mountain nearly in the present turnpike road, to Hoosac river in Adams; thence following that stream to its junction with the Hudson. Excepting the settlements at Half-moon, Stillwater and Saratoga, Mohawk river formed the remainder of the boundary in New York; and the post at Oswego was the farthest settlement to the west. A line drawn south-erly from Schenectady, parallel to the Hudson, bounded most of the settlements west of that river in New York.

Stillwater and Saratoga on the Hudson, and the settlements on the Connecticut above Ashuelot, were north of the boundary which has been described; but they were small posts and under the protection of slight forts, frequently garrisoned in time of war by forces from the older settlements. All the important places near the frontier boundary, had small temporary fortifications, tenable only against Indian attacks with musketry.

One hundred and twenty three years had now elapsed since the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth. Many had been the obstructions to the progress of settlements,



and though they will not compare with those of later times, yet under all the embarrassments met with in the various wars, it must be acknowledged they were rapid.

No accurate account of the population of New England at this time appears. According to Dr. Holmes that of Massachusetts in 1742, was one hundred and sixty four thousand. Boston, he says, contained about eighteen hundred inhabitants, and seven hundred and nineteen dwelling houses. In 1750 the number in New England was estimated as follows :

Massachusetts	200,000	
Connecticut	100,000	
Rhode Island	30,000	
New Hampshire	24,000	
		<hr/>
Total in round numbers	354,000	
New York	100,000	by Smith in
		<hr/>
		about 1730
		454,000

The settlements in Canada at this time were confined principally to the St. Lawrence and its confluent streams, and about their forts at the lakes. On the Sorrel river were a few small forts ; at Crown Point a work of considerable strength was built in 1731, far within the English limits, from which predatory parties were fitted out in the subsequent wars against the colonies. In 1749 the militia of Canada was estimated at twelve thousand men, besides regular forces ; but the Indians still continued formidable, and as the French extended their settlements westward, they formed alliances with new tribes which they could call into the field on any emergency.

Notwithstanding the measures that had been taken by Massachusetts and New Hampshire to preserve peace with the Indians, it was evident they still harbored dispositions not very friendly to the English, and that a war between England and France was alone wanting to turn them once more upon the frontiers of the colonies. As they often resorted to the exterior settlements and the trading posts for traffic, it was common for them to visit the families whom they had cruelly injured in the preceding wars, and to recount their exploits—their cruel murders and tortures practised on their friends ; and when provoked

or intoxicated, to threaten a reiteration of their former cruelties, should war offer them opportunities. Irritations of this nature were not easily borne by the English people, and probably secret murders might sometimes be the consequence. Persons accused of killing Indians under such provocations were either forcibly rescued or acquitted on trial.\*

On the fifth of October, 1737, commissioners appointed by the governor of Massachusetts, met *Ontausoogoe* and other sachems from Cahnawaga, at fort Dummer, and held a treaty, in which friendly speeches were delivered on each side; and it appeared the Indians were at least ostensibly desirous of a continuation of amity. *Ontausoogoe* expressed himself in strong terms. "Two years ago," said he, "I was here. The matter then delivered to us, was, that the old covenant of peace and amity between our *Brother Broadway* (the English) and us might be continued. We now return an answer, for our three tribes, that our desire is, that it might remain firm and unshaken; and do from our hearts promise that the covenant shall not be broken on our part; but if ever there should be any breach, it shall begin on yours: and the God of heaven who now sees us, and knows what we are doing, be witness for our sincerity." He then laid down a belt of wampum.

Peace was maintained until 1744, when England and France once more commenced a conflict, and the flames again spread on the frontiers of the colonies, and the bloodthirsty savages immediately took up the hatchet, with the determination to glut their long fostered vengeance.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

WAR was declared by Great Britain against France and Spain, March twenty nine, 1744, and proclaimed at Boston in June; but before it was known at that place, the French governor of Cape Breton sent a force against

\* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 82.

Kanso, captured and burnt the place, and carried the captives to Louisburg.

At the declaration of war, many Indians who had been active in the former war, resided about the frontiers on the Connecticut as well as at the fishing stations on that river. By a friendly intercourse many had become known to the English settlers, and a kind of attachment had been created, which it was hoped would operate as a check to their ferocity in a future war. But their ardor for plunder and carnage, overcame their apparent feelings of amity; and finding an opportunity now presented for gratifying their inclinations, they suddenly left their stations, and repaired to Canada to join the hostile tribes in that quarter. Such was their thirst for revenge, that in some instances, when they commenced their march on first hearing of the war, they fired upon the houses of the frontier settlers. This was but a prelude to the scene that was to open. Perfectly acquainted with the topography of the country on the frontiers of the colonies, they were employed during the war, not only on predatory incursions of their own, but as guides to other more distant Indians, and much injury was the consequence.

As soon as the declaration of war was known in Boston, the governor, William Shirley, who had succeeded Mr. Belcher, issued orders to the western regiments of militia in Massachusetts, requiring their quotas of men for the defence of the frontiers in that quarter, and several new forts were ordered to be built.

In the former wars, several routes had been traversed by the enemy in approaching the frontiers from Canada. One by the river St. Francis through Memphremagog lake, thence over portages to the river *Pasumpsick*, emptying into the Connecticut at Barnet, and thence down the last river to the settlements. Another was through lake Champlain, by the present town of Whitehall in New York, and up Wood or Pawlet creek, and over the mountains to West river, then down that river to the Connecticut. Otter creek afforded another convenient route to West river. Another route was from Otter creek over the mountains to Black river, thence following that stream to the Connecticut. Onion, Lemoille and White rivers, were also frequented in the route to the Connecti-

cut. Having reached the Connecticut, the enemy either descended it to Massachusetts, or struck off to the frontiers of New Hampshire. Fort Dummer was well situated for obstructing the passage down the Connecticut; but the western part of Massachusetts being unprotected by fortresses, the government authorised the building a line, or *cordon* of forts, to extend from fort Dummer to Hoosac, now Adams, and Williamstown; and a work of some strength, was begun in Adams, and named fort Massachusetts; another on the high country now in Rowe and named Pelham, and one in the present town of Heath, called Shirley. In Colrain and Bernardston, several houses were stockaded, and some mounts erected. At Northfield and Greenfield the old defences were repaired. On the west side of Hoosac mountain, besides *Massachusetts*, several small works were built at Pittsfield, Stockbridge and Sheffield, and at Blanford a small work was erected, not only for the protection of the settlers, but as a station on the then principal route to Kinderhook and Albany, in the state of New York. Forts Massachusetts, Pelham and Shirley, were built at the expense of the province, and the towns which have been named, received grants of money towards defraying the expences of their fortifications.

On the Connecticut in New Hampshire, were several small works extending up to Charleston, others at Hinsdale and upper and lower Ashuelot. In the eastern quarter of the province of Massachusetts, were Georges, Pemaquid and Richmond forts; others at Brunswick, Saco and some other places. To furnish garrisons for the forts, five hundred men were raised; three hundred for the eastern, and two hundred for the western quarter of the province. Ninety six barrels of gunpowder were sent to the frontier townships, to be sold to the inhabitants, at the prime cost.

The western cordon of forts, consisting of small garrisons, was placed under the immediate command of colonel Ephraim Williams, then a captain, who established his head quarters at fort Massachusetts, which was the most exposed point. Col. John Stoddard, of Northampton, commanding the militia regiment in the county of Hampshire, was charged with the general superintendence

of the defence of the northwest frontiers of the province; and major Israel Williams of Hatfield, was appointed commissary of the department.

Small scouting parties were continually kept ranging from fort to fort, on the cordon, from Dummer to Massachusetts, and thence to Pittsfield for the purpose of discovering the incursions of the enemy, and of ferretting out their trails; and the novel expedient was adopted, of employing companies of large dogs, trained to the service. By a vigilant discharge of this duty, it was difficult for the enemy to cross the line without discovery.

In addition to these ranging parties, scouts from the militia were employed to scour the wilderness towards the head of Wood, and Otter creeks. The officers on these expeditions were required to keep fair and correct journals of their marches, and other operations; and to return them to the government of the province. To induce scouts to turn out on this arduous, and fatiguing service, a bounty of thirty pounds, was promised for Indian scalps. The rations allowed the troops on the frontiers at this period, were as follows :

GARRISON FORCES.

1 lb of bread	} per day.
$\frac{1}{2}$ a pint of peas or beans	
2 lbs of pork for three days	
1 Gallon of molasses per man for forty two days	

MARCHING FORCES.

1 lb of bread	} per day.*
1 lb of pork	
1 gill of rum	

No depredations were committed on the frontiers during the year 1744. The forces proceeded without interruption in the construction of their forts, and the militia found time to prepare for future emergencies. Probably the French in Canada were employed in a similar manner, and collecting and arming their Indians for enterprises the next year.


The first incursion of the Indians on the western frontiers, was on the fifth of July, 1745, at the *great meadow*, now in Putney, on Connecticut river, above fort

\* Instructions from John Wheelright, commissary general, to major Williams, commissary for the western department.

**Dummer.** William Phipps was captured by two Indians, as he was hoeing corn, and carried into the woods. One of the Indians departed, leaving the prisoner under the care of his comrade; Phipps watching an opportunity, struck him down with his hoe, and seizing his gun, gave the other who was then returning a fatal shot. But before he reached home, he unfortunately met with three other Indians, who killed him. Five days after, the Indians appeared at upper Ashuelot, (Keene), and killed and scalped Josiah Fisher.

In the month of October, the enemy again appeared at Great meadow, captured Nehemiah Howe, who was cutting timber a small distance from the fort at that place; a fire was opened upon them by the little garrison, and one of the Indians killed. Howe was carried to Canada, where he died. Two men, David Rugg and Robert Baker, about this time, descending Connecticut river in a canoe, were discovered by the Indians, and fired upon; Rugg was killed, but Baker gaining the opposite shore, escaped.

The line of forts to the westward of Connecticut river, suffered no interruption from the enemy, during this year. Scouts were continually on the alert, but no opportunity for a trial of their prowess presented, and the Indians were seldom seen.

Early this year, a force from the four New England provinces, under the command of general William Pepperell, aided by a squadron under commodore Warren, besieged and took Louisburg, a strong fortification in the island of Cape Breton, belonging to France. The siege commenced on the thirtieth of April, and continued to the seventeenth of June, when Duchambon, the governor, capitulated. During the siege a series of artless, but brave exploits were exhibited by a body of about four thousand undisciplined provincials, almost totally unacquainted with the principles of attack and defence, which astonished Europe. The fort was one of the strongest in America. The ramparts were built of stone from thirty to thirty six feet high; the ditch eighty feet wide, defended by six bastions and batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty eight cannon, and six mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbor, nted

a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty eight pound shot, and at the bottom of the harbour directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery of twenty eight cannon, forty two pounders, and two eighteen pounders. The entrance of the town on the land side, was at the west gate, over a draw bridge, near which was a circular battery mounting sixteen guns, of twenty four pound shot. These works had been twenty five years in building, and though not finished, had cost the crown of France not less than thirty millions of livres.\*

Irritated probably by the loss of Louisburg, the enemy determined to give the frontiers little respite during the year 1746; and early in the Spring, they began to hover on the borders of New Hampshire. On the nineteenth of April, a party of Indians captured John Spafford, Isaac Parker and Stephen Farnsworth at Charlestown, who were out with a team a small distance from the fort. They were conveyed to Canada, and after sometime returned to Boston, under a flag of truce. A few days after, fifty Indians attempted to surprise the fort at upper Ashuelot. Secreting themselves in a swamp in the night, they intended to seize the people as they went to their labor in the morning. Ephraim Dormon happening to go out early, fortunately discovered the ambuscade, and a firing instantly commenced, which gave the alarm to the people in the fort, who sallying, engaged the enemy and after sometime drove them back; John Bullard was killed, and the wife of Daniel M'Kenny, who was out of the fort, mortally wounded; Nathan Blake was captured. Before the enemy retired they burnt several buildings. The same month, Joshua Holton was killed on the road east of Northfield. At the close of the month eight persons of the families of Burbank and Woodwell, were captured at New Hopkinton, and carried to Canada, part of whom returned to Boston in a flag ship.

In the beginning of May, the enemy again made an inroad into Charlestown. Major Josiah Willard, and a small party of men went from the fort, to guard some women while milking their cows, eight Indians who had concealed themselves in a barn not far from the fort, fired upon Willard's party, killed Seth Putnam, and attempt-

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. ii. p. 163.

ing to scalp him, were driven off, with two of their number mortally wounded. About the same time Elisha Cook and a negro man were killed, and Thomas Jones captured, at Contoocook, on the Merrimac.

May sixth, Timothy Browne and Robert Moffit, were captured at lower Ashuelot. Another party about the same time hovered about the fort at upper Ashuelot, watching an opportunity for seizing prisoners and plunder. While on this service, an Indian lost his life, by an excess of bravery. In the evening he approached the fort and knocked at the gate, and the sentinel on post, by a fortunate shot through the gate, gave him a mortal wound.

During these transactions, another party made an attack on a fortified house at Bernardston. Only three men were in the house, but plying their shot dexterously, they beat back the Indians, two of whom were mortally wounded; John Burke\* received a slight wound, several cattle were killed, and one house burnt. On the return of the enemy through Colrain, the next day, they ambuscaded the road not far from one of the forts. Matthew Clark, his wife, daughter, and two soldiers, passing the ambuscade, received a fire, by which Clark fell; the wife and daughter were wounded, but the soldiers returning the fire, killed one of the Indians, which checked their advance, and enabled the people to carry the wounded into the fort. On the same day, sergeant John Hawks, and John Miles, were fired upon near fort Massachusetts, and both wounded; but they effected their escape into the fort. This was the first attack of the enemy in that quarter.

On the twenty fourth of the same month, a sharp skirmish took place at Charlestown, on Connecticut river. Captain Paine having arrived at that place with a troop of horse, ten of his men went out to view the spot where Putnam had been killed a short time previous. A party of Indians who had planted themselves in ambuscade

\* This gentleman was one of the early settlers of the town. In 1755, he commanded a company in colonel Ephraim Williams' regiment, at lake George, and was in the battle at that place on the eighth of September. In the massacre at the same place, in 1757, after the surrender of fort William Henry, he escaped with difficulty from the Indians, and afterwards rose to the rank of major, and served with reputation until the conquest of Canada. He was much esteemed by the people of Bernardston.



in the vicinity, opened a sudden fire on the dragoons, and attempted to cut off their retreat to the fort. Captain Stevens, then commanding, sallied with a party, and a sharp conflict ensued. The enemy at length gave way, with the loss of five. Stevens lost Aaron Lyon, Peter Perrin, and Joseph Marcy, killed; four others of his men were wounded, and one captured.

On the nineteenth of July, another affair took place not far from the same fort. Captains Stevens and Brown, with about fifty men, marched into an adjacent meadow, in search of horses. A strong party of the enemy had secreted themselves in the vicinity, with the intention of attacking by surprise. Some dogs accompanying the detachment, scented out the Indians, and by their barking, gave the alarm. Stevens and Brown instantly forming, advanced upon the Indians, and a warm contest was maintained some time, but the Indians were compelled to leave the ground, and were so closely pressed, that they left a number of blankets, hatchets, spears and guns, which fell into the hands of the conquerors. David Parker, Jonathan Stanhope, Noah Heaton, and Jedediah Winchel were wounded, the latter mortally. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained.

The next day, twenty Indians killed William Robbins and James Parker, wounded Michael Gilson and Patrick Ray, and captured John Beamont and Daniel Howe, in a meadow near Bridgman's fort, about two miles below fort Dummer.

On the third of July, Col Willard, at the head of twenty men, who were guarding a mill in Hinsdale, repulsed a body of Indians who made an attack on the post. The enemy were received with resolution, and they retreated precipitately, leaving their packs in the hands of Willard. The next day, they captured David Morrison, near one of the forts in Colrain.

The third of August, the Indians attacked a scout near Charlestown, and killed Ebenezer Philips; the remainder escaped to the fort without further loss. The enemy then pressed on and fired upon the fort, but were soon repulsed; and after burning several buildings, and destroying some cattle, fled into the woods. On the sixth, seven men were ambuscaded in Winchester, near Wil-

lard's fort, and Joseph Rawson killed, and one man wounded; and soon after Benjamin Wright was mortally wounded at Northfield. About the same time, Ezekiel Wallingford was killed at *Poquaig*, (Athol,) and one Bliss, at Greenfield. An ineffectual attempt of the enemy on Shattuck's fort at Hinsdale, closed the depredations on Connecticut river, for this year.

But several incursions were made into the interior of New Hampshire. On the fifth of June, five men were attacked in a field at Rochester, and driven to a deserted house, which the Indians stormed; Joseph Heard, Joseph Richards, John Wentworth and Gershom Downs, were tomahawked, and John Richards wounded and captured, as was also Jonathan Door, a lad who was in a field some distance from the house. Not long after another man was killed in the same town, and two captured at Contoocook; and an unsuccessful attempt was made on the people of Pennacook, while at public worship. The next day five were killed, and two captured at the same place.

On the western extremity of the Massachusetts line of forts, the enemy were sometimes seen hovering in the neighborhood. In July a reconnoitring party were attacked near fort Massachusetts, Elisha Nims and Gershom Hawks, were wounded, and Benjamin Tenter captured, and one of the enemy was killed.

In most of the attacks that have been noticed, the Indians were victorious, not by open and fair combat, but by finesse and stratagem; and though they killed and captured many of our people, it was not without loss on their part. Scalps were sometimes obtained, for which the bounty promised by government, was punctually paid. During the summer of this year, the garrison of fort Massachusetts received sixty pounds, for two scalps, they had taken, and the money was divided among forty eight men, then composing the garrison.

While the enemy were hovering about fort Massachusetts, Pelham and Shirley were unmolested, and indeed the enemy were seldom seen; for their incursions thus far, were made principally upon New Hampshire. But in the month of August, M. Rigaud de Vadreuil marched from Crown Point, with about eight hundred

French and Indians, and invested fort Massachusetts on the twentieth. The garrison at this time, consisted of only twenty two effective men, under the command of sergeant, afterwards Lieut. Col. John Hawks ; captain Williams, the former commander, having joined the forces then raised for an expedition against Canada.

Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, the brave sergeant, rejected the proposals of the French commander, and resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. For twenty eight hours, with small arms only, and a scanty supply of ammunition, he resisted the efforts of the enemy, and kept them at a respectful distance. Habituated to sharp shooting, the garrison singled out the assailants whenever they exposed themselves, and brought them down at long shot. Instances occurred in which the enemy were thus killed, at the extraordinary distance of sixty rods ; and they often fell, when they supposed themselves in perfect security. Having at length expended most of his ammunition, the brave commander, reluctantly consented to submit, and a capitulation was agreed upon ; by which, the garrison was to remain prisoners of war, until exchanged or redeemed—to be humanely treated, and none to be delivered to the Indians. Vaudreuil, however, the next day, in violation of the articles of capitulation, delivered one half of the captives into the hands of the irritated Indians, by whom a sick man was immediately murdered ; but the others were treated with humanity—carried to Crown Point, thence to Canada, and afterwards redeemed. Hawks lost but one man, during the siege, but the enemy, according to information afterwards obtained, had forty seven killed, or badly wounded.\*

\* From a return by sergeant Hawks, after he came home, made to Col. Israel Williams, I am able to record the names of this brave little garrison. Probably all are beyond the reach of encomium ; but the record may be interesting to their descendants. Besides the commander, sergeant Hawks, they were : Nathan Ames, Thomas Nolton, Josiah Reed, Samuel Lovatt, Samuel Goodman, John Smead, jun. Amos Pratt, Daniel Smead, Nathaniel Hitchcock, Jacob Shepard, Phineas Furbush, Jonathan Bridgeman, John Aldrich, Benjamin Simons, David Warren, John Smead, senior, John Perry, Stephen Scott, Moses Scott, Joseph Scott, and the Rev. John Norton, (chaplain,) besides several women and children, amounting in the whole to thirty three. Sergeant Hawks rose to the rank of Lieut. Col. in the army, in the war of 1755, and was at the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758 ; and with the army in the conquest of Canada. Bold, hardy, and enter-

The attempt to defend the fort, with such a numerical inferiority, without artillery, against a regular force, would have been rashness in the extreme; but knowing the nature of Vaudreuil's force, a considerable part of which were Indians, and destitute of artillery, Hawks believed it possible to hold out until he should be succoured; and had he been amply supplied with ammunition, it is not improbable, he would have defended the place against all the efforts of the enemy. The fort, however, was unfavourably situated for defence. It stood in a low meadow, overlooked by heights, from which the enemy might ascertain the strength of the garrison. One of these heights, northwest of the fort, was occupied by Vaudreuil's main force. A judicious choice of posts, and the principles of fortification, though probably understood by the *engineers* of the time, seem not to have been regarded in our early wars. Most of the works were built on low grounds, often in the vicinity of commanding heights—generally constructed of single stockades, without ditches or flanking parts, and capable only of a direct fire, and against the lightest artillery untenable. Since the introduction of *rifle batteries*, works of this kind are often carried with musketry. One of these batteries erected at a proper distance, would have compelled the little garrison under Hawks, to have submitted, without the protection of a capitulation.

Previous to the attack on the fort, and before it was known that the enemy lay in the vicinity, Vaudreuil encircled the place, and waited an opportunity to seize it by surprise. While his troops were thus concealed, thirteen of the garrison, under the surgeon, Dr. Thomas Williams, were detached, with orders to proceed to Deerfield, on Connecticut river, to procure ammunition and other supplies; and without apprehensions of an enemy of force in the vicinity, they passed along the usual road, then under the eye of Vaudreuil's secreted forces, without molestation. This fact was communicated to the garrison after the surrender, and the enemy stated that some of their parties lay so near the road, covered by brakes and

prising, he acquired the confidence and esteem of his superior officers; and was intrusted with important commands. He was no less valued by the inhabitants of Deerfield, his native town, for his civil qualities.

bushes, that the detachment came nearly in contact with their guns; but rather than attempt to seize them, which would have brought on a fire, and apprized the garrison of their proximity, they suffered the surgeon and his men to pass without interruption.

Immediately after the surrender of fort Massachusetts, about fifty of Vaudreuil's Indians passed Hoosack mountain, for the purpose of making depredations at Deerfield, about forty miles eastward. Arriving near the village on Sunday, they reconnoitred the north meadow, for the purpose of selecting a place for an attack upon the people as they should commence their labor the next morning. Not finding a point of attack suited to their design, which seems rather to capture people than to procure scalps, they proceeded about two miles south to a place called the *Bars*, where were a couple of houses owned by the families of Amsden and Allen, but now deserted; and early in the morning formed an ambuscade in the margin of a meadow, under the cover of a thicket of alders, near which was a quantity of newly mown hay. The laborers of the two families, accompanied by several children, then residing in Deerfield village, proceeded to their work in the early part of the day, and commenced their business very near the Indians, who now considered their prey as certain; but a little before they commenced their attack, Mr. Eleazer Hawks, one of the neighboring inhabitants, went out for fowling, and approaching near the ambuscade, was shot down and scalped. Alarmed at the fire, the people fled down a creek towards a mill, fiercely pursued by the Indians. Simeon Amsden, a lad, was seized, killed and scalped; Samuel Allen, John Sadler and Adonijah Gillet, made a stand under the bank of Deerfield river, near the mouth of the mill creek, whence they opened a fire on the Indians. Soon overpowered, Allen and Gillet fell, but Sadler escaped to an island, and thence across the river, under a shower of balls. In the mean time, others making for the road leading to the town, were closely pursued, and Oliver Amsden, after a vigorous struggle for his life, was barbarously butchered. Eunice, a daughter, and two sons of Allen, Samuel and Caleb, were in the field; Eunice was knocked down by a tomahawk,

and her skull fractured, but in the hurry, was left unscalped. Samuel was made prisoner, and Caleb effected his escape, by running through a piece of corn, though the Indians passed very near him. Notwithstanding the severity of her wounds, Eunice recovered, and lived to an advanced age.

The firing was heard in the town, and a small guard, with such inhabitants as could be collected, hurried on to the scene of distress; but the enemy had left the ground and proceeded up Deerfield river, with young Allen. A party under lieutenant Clesson, pressed up the river after the enemy, while another pushed on to Charlemont; but the Indians out marched both, and escaped. Two of their party were afterwards found dead near the mill, supposed to have been killed by Allen and his party, who fought with desperation.

No further incursions were made into this quarter of the province, during the year 1746. Probably the enemy were deterred by the preparations making by the northern provinces, for an invasion of Canada. Early in the Spring the governor had received orders from England to raise a body of troops for that purpose, to be joined by a body of regulars, and a squadron of ships of war, which were to proceed up the St. Lawrence; while another force was to assemble at Albany, to advance upon Crown Point, and Montreal. The expedition was to be commanded by sir John St. Clair, sir Peter Warren, and governor Shirley.

The prospect of invading Canada, was highly gratifying to the northern colonies; and their several quotas of troops were raised with expedition, and a strong force assembled at Albany. But owing to variety of adverse circumstances, among which, was the arrival of a French fleet, with four thousand land forces at Nova Scotia, under the duke D'Anville, the expedition was laid aside; and part of the troops assembled at Albany, as well as large bodies of the militia, were ordered to Boston, for the defence of that place. The French armament meeting with many disasters, and great loss from sickness, soon returned to France.

At the termination of the military operations this year, the government of Massachusetts, in consequence of the

refusal of New Hampshire, to furnish troops for the defence of the settlements on Connecticut river, withdrew the principal part of theirs from that quarter. Thus left to the depredations of the enemy, the inhabitants abandoned their plantations—deposited many of their effects in the earth, and retired down the river, and their buildings were left to the mercy of the enemy. But in the subsequent winter, Massachusetts, unwilling to desert the people, who had settled the lands while under their jurisdiction, ordered forces to be raised for the protection of the abandoned settlements. A small guard, left at Charlestown, had abandoned the place, in the winter, and it continued two months without protection. In the latter part of March, 1747, captain Stevens, the former commander, re-occupied the place with thirty men; and scarcely had he commenced the usual duties, when he was invested by a large body of French and Indians, under the command of M. Debeline.

On first arriving before the place, the enemy secreting themselves, lay sometime, before they were discovered by the garrison; nor was their proximity conjectured, until the dogs in the fort indicated something singular in their conduct. Suspicions being thus raised, the gate of the fort was cautiously opened—the garrison put on the alert, and no one allowed to go at a distance. At length one of the men desirous of ascertaining the ground of the suspicions, ventured out about twenty rods, discharged his musket, and sent forward his dogs. Believing they were discovered, a party of the enemy, concealed behind a log, rose, fired and slightly wounded the man, who by a rapid retreat to the fort, saved his life. The whole body of the enemy now rose from their covert, and with horrid yells, poured a general fire on the fort; but their resolution was not equal to an attempt to carry it by storm.

The fort being constructed of combustible materials, the enemy believed it possible to set it on fire, and thereby compel the garrison to surrender without further opposition. To effect this, the neighboring fences, and a log hut, about forty rods to windward, were soon set on fire, and as the wind was brisk, the flames approached, and covered the fort with a dense body of smoke, through

which was heard the terrifying yell of the savages, and a constant roar of musketry, and the balls like hail showered upon the fort.

Undaunted, the brave little garrison resolved to defend their post, to the last extremity, and a novel scheme was adopted to extinguish the approaching flames, which now began to threaten destruction. By great exertions, no less than eleven passages, or subterranean galleries, were carried under the parapet, of such a depth, that men standing in them, on the exterior of the fort, were completely protected from the shot of the enemy. Buckets of water from a well within, were handed to the men, who kept the parapet constantly moistened. Several hundred barrels were thus expended, and the fort rendered perfectly secure from the approaching flames. In the mean time, a brisk fire was continued upon the enemy, when they could be distinguished through the smoke. Thus baffled in his plan, Debeline resolved to carry the place by other means; a sort of *mantelet* was prepared, and loaded with dry faggots, set on fire, and forced towards the fort; flaming arrows were also tried, but his efforts to fire the place proved abortive.

On the second day, Debeline proposed a cessation of hostilities, until sunrise the next morning, with which Stephens complied, and in the morning, before the time had expired, Debeline approached with fifty men, under a flag, which he planted within twenty rods of the fort. A parley was then agreed on, and Stephens admitted a lieutenant and two men into the fort as hostages, and the same number were sent out to Debeline, who demanded that the garrison should lay down their arms, pack up their provisions in blankets, surrender the fort, and be conducted prisoners to Montreal; and Stephens was requested to meet him without the fort, and give an answer. Stephens accordingly met the French commander, but before he had time to return his answer, *Monsieur* threatened that if the terms were rejected, the fort should be stormed, and in case any of his men should be killed, the garrison should be put to the sword. Stephens calmly replied, that as he had been intrusted by his government with the command of the fort, he should hearken to no terms, until he was satisfied that he could no longer defend



it ; and added, that it was but a poor inducement to surrender, if all were to be put to the sword for killing one of his men, when it was probable he had already dispatched several. Debeline replied, "*Do as you please—I am resolved to have the fort or die ; go and see if your men dare fight any longer, and give me a quick answer.*" Stephens returned to the fort and found his men unanimously determined to defend the place or die in the attempt. This resolution was communicated to the French commander about noon ; the hostages were exchanged, and the firing was renewed, with a shout from the Indians, and it continued until day light the next morning, when Stevens was familiarly saluted with "*good morning,*" from the enemy, and a proposition was made for a cessation of arms for two hours. Soon after two Indians approached with a flag, and promised that if Stevens would sell them provisions, they would leave the place without further efforts. In reply, they were told that five bushels of corn would be given for each captive in Canada, for whom they should give hostages, to remain until the captives should be delivered. Debeline, convinced that he could not operate upon the fears of his enemy, or gain possession of the place without an assault, continued a distant fire a short time ; then reluctantly withdrew from the fort.

In the attack, which continued three days, Stevens states that thousands of balls were poured upon the fort, yet not a man of the garrison was killed, and only two wounded.\* When the intelligence of this brave defence, was received at Boston, commodore sir Charles Knowles who happened to be at that station, was so highly gratified at the conduct of Stevens, that he sent him an elegant sword, and *Number four*, when incorporated into a town in 1753, was called after the commodore's name, Charlestown.

The bravery of captain Stevens in the defence of the fort was not the most brilliant part of his conduct. The novel scheme he adopted in the construction of the galleries under the parapet, for applying water to the exterior, during the approaching flames, place it in a more elevated point of view, and demonstrate that he possessed resources

\* Stevens' Letter, now before me.

of mind equal to a higher command. It will not, however, escape the observation of the military critic, that considering the small force under his command, he acted with less judgment, in admitting into his fort the officer and his party, at the time of the cessation of hostilities, when all the purposes would have been answered by holding them under a guard without, and thereby have avoided a discovery of his numbers. Equally injudicious was it to risk himself in an interview with the French commander and his fifty Indians at a distance from the fort. Service of this nature is usually intrusted to a subordinate officer, whose loss, in case of perfidy, would not be so disastrous as that of the commander; and where was perfidy more likely to occur, than in a conference with such an enemy?

Mortifying in the extreme must have been the failure to carry the fort, on the part of Debeline. While Stevens discovered a genius for resources, equal to his command, the former seems not to have adopted a probable plan of carrying the fort after his attempts to set it on fire. Probably he was better versed in finesse and ambuscade, than in the attack of fortified places, and in this he resembled most of the partisans of the times.

Though baffled in their attacks on Charlestown, Debeline's forces continued to hover about the frontiers in small parties. In a skirmish near the same fort, soon after, an Indian was killed. On the fifteenth of April, Nathaniel Dickinson and Asabel Burt, were killed and scalped a small distance from Northfield village, and not long after, most of the buildings were burnt at Winchester and upper Ashuelot; but most of the inhabitants had previously fled from their plantations.

Fort Massachusetts having been demolished after it was surrendered to Vaudreuil, the government of Massachusetts sent a force this year, to rebuild it. While on this service, a detachment of one hundred men was sent to Albany, to escort a quantity of stores from that place. Before their return, a body of the enemy approached the fort to interrupt the work, and lay concealed sometime in the adjacent woods. On the twenty fifth of May, the van guard of the escort arriving near the fort,

was suddenly attacked. A party of the workmen immediately advanced on the enemy, and a skirmish ensued, and the enemy were finally driven into the woods, and the escort arrived with the loss of only one Stockbridge Indian, and two men wounded.

In the month of July, Eliakim Sheldon was killed at Bernardston, and John Mills at Colrain. In August, the Indians penetrated to Southampton, and killed Elijah Clark at work in his barn. October first, Peter Burvee was captured near fort Massachusetts; and on the nineteenth of the same month, John Smead was killed near the mouth of Millers river, between Northfield and Montague. He was one of the heroes of fort Massachusetts, and but recently returned from his captivity. About this time, Jonathan Sawtel was captured at Hinsdale; and on the twenty fourth, twelve men passing down Connecticut river, from Charleston, were attacked and a skirmish ensued; Nathan Gould and Thomas Goodale were killed; Oliver Avery wounded, and John Henderson captured, and the remainder were compelled to retreat.

In the Autumn of this year, a scout from a body of provincial troops stationed at Northfield, under Maj. Willard and Lieut. Alexander, wounded Picere Rambout, a French officer, near Winchester, who afterwards came in and surrendered himself. His wound being cured he was sent to Boston, and at length to Canada, as will be noted hereafter. Soon after, the enemy burnt Bridgman's fort, below fort Dummer, and killed several people; and a few were taken at Charlestown, the ensuing winter.

During the summer, the enemy made several incursions into the interior of New Hampshire. A party of people at labor in a field at Rochester, were attacked in the month of June, but the enemy were beaten off by a party who came to their relief. At Pennacook, a body of the enemy were discovered and pursued by fifty men, who came up with, and engaged them; one man was wounded, and the enemy were driven off, with the loss of their packs, and blankets. Soon after a man was killed at the same place, and another at Suncook; and at Nottingham, Robert Beard, John Fulsome and Elizabeth

Simpson, met the same fate. During the winter, incursions nearly ceased, and the frontiers had a short respite from blood and carnage.

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## CHAPTER XV.

DURING the last year, the sufferings of the settlers bordering the Connecticut in New Hampshire, were severe; many had been killed and captured, and as the war was not likely to terminate, they had no grounds to promise themselves an exemption from future depredations. Unable to obtain aid from the government of their own province, application was again made to that of Massachusetts, for forces to be stationed in the river towns; and in February, 1748, the house of representatives voted, "That his excellency, the captain general, be directed to cause, as soon as may be, so many men to be enlisted, by the encouragement voted by the court, as with the soldiers already posted at No. four, and at fort Massachusetts, will make the number at each, one hundred effective men, (officers included;) and to give orders to the commanding officers in said garrisons respectively, that a suitable number be constantly employed to intercept the French and Indian enemy in their marches from Wood creek, and Otter creek to our frontiers; to continue in said service until the first day of October next; and that the commanding officers keep fair journals of their marches, from time to time, and return the same to this court;—and that over and above the bounty above mentioned, and the pay and subsistence of the province, agreeable to the last establishment, there be, and hereby is granted, to be paid to the officers and soldiers, in equal parts, who shall be on any scouts that may kill or capture any enemy Indian, the sum of one hundred pounds; the scalp of the Indian killed, to be produced to the governor and council as evidence thereof."\* The vote was approved by the council and consented to by the governor, and the troops raised accordingly. Captain Stevens was

\* Copy of the vote transmitted to the commander of the western frontier of Massachusetts.

again appointed to the command of Charlestown; the garrison amounting to one hundred, agreeably to the order of the governor; and captain Humphrey Hobbs was ordered to the same post, to act as second in command.

About the middle of March, soon after Stevens took the command, a party of about twenty Indians appeared at Charlestown, and attacked eight of the garrison, a small distance from the fort. Stevens sallied, and engaged the enemy, and a sharp skirmish ensued. Charles Stevens was killed, one Andros wounded, and Eleazer Priest captured by the enemy. The next month, Joseph Babcock was captured at *Poquaig*; and in May, the Indians again penetrated to Southampton, where they killed Noah Pixley.

In the month of May, a scout of eighteen men under captain Melvin, marched from Charlestown, to reconnoitre the woods towards lake Champlain, and arriving opposite to Crown Point, they discovered and fired upon two canoes of Indians. This drew out a party from the fort, who endeavoured to intercept the scout on its return to Connecticut river, and by a rapid march, the enemy gained the front, and Melvin soon crossed their trail, and concluding they would take a route towards Charlestown, he resolved to strike the Connecticut at fort Dummer, and thereby avoid the enemy. On reaching West river, he halted on the twenty fifth, and very imprudently permitted his men to divert themselves in shooting salmon, then passing up the shoals of the river. The enemy, unknown to Melvin, were then in close pursuit on his trail, and hearing the report of the guns, pressed on to the spot, and gave the incautious scout a sudden fire, which threw it into confusion, and scattered the men in various directions. A small party, however, rallying, returned and engaged the enemy, but were soon overpowered and compelled to retreat. Melvin and eleven of his men, at length reached fort Dummer; Joseph Petty, John Haywood, John Dodd, Daniel Mann, Isaac Taylor and Samuel Severance, all valuable men were killed, or taken. When an officer so far neglects his duty, as to forget the rules of prudence, he seldom avoids fatal disasters.

On the sixteenth of June, thirteen men on the route

from Hinsdale to fort Dummer, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, and Nathan French, Joseph Richardson and Joseph Frost were killed; and Henry Stevens, Benjamin Osgood, William Blanchard, Matthew Wiman, Joel Johnson, Moses Perkins and William Bickford, were made prisoners; the latter died of a wound he received in the attack; the three others escaped.

The death of colonel John Stoddard of Northampton, this year, while attending the general court at Boston, was a serious loss to the western frontiers of Massachusetts. He had been entrusted with the defence of that quarter of the country, and in this, as well as in many civil offices, had discharged his duty with skill and judgment, and he stood high in the confidence of the government, as well as that of the people of the province. Colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield, who had acted as commissary under colonel Stoddard, was appointed to succeed him, and immediately entered upon the arduous duty; and major Elijah Williams, of Deerfield, was appointed to the commissary's department, on the western frontier, under John Wheelwright, commissary general.

In the various attacks upon small parties, by surprise, the enemy had generally been successful; but scouting parties under brave and cautious officers sometimes turned the scales against them. A gallant case of this kind occurred about the time colonel Williams took the command. Captain Humphrey Hobbs, with forty men, was ordered from Charlestown, through the woods to fort Shirley, in Heath, one of the posts on the Massachusetts line. The march was made without interruption, until Hobbs arrived at what is now Marlborough, in Vermont, about twelve miles northwest of fort Dummer, where he halted on the twenty sixth of June, to give his men an opportunity to refresh themselves. A large body of Indians under a resolute chief, by the name of Sackett,\* discovered Hobbs' trail, and made a rapid march to cut him off. Without being apprized of the pursuit of the enemy, Hobbs had circumspectly posted a guard on his trail, and his men were regaling themselves at their packs, on a low piece of ground, covered with alders, inter-

\* This chief is said to have been a half blooded Indian, a descendant of a captive, taken at Westfield, Massachusetts.

mixed with large trees, and watered by a rivulet. The enemy soon came up, and drove in the guard, which first apprized Hobbs of their proximity. Without the least knowledge of their strength, he instantly formed for action; each man selecting his tree for a cover. Confident of victory, from their superiority of numbers, the enemy rushed up, and received Hobbs' well directed fire, which cut down a number, and checked their impetuosity. Covering themselves also, with trees and brush, the action became warm, and a severe conflict ensued between sharp shooters. The two commanders had been known to each other, in time of peace, and both bore the character of intrepidity. Sackett who could speak English, in a stentorian voice, frequently called upon Hobbs to surrender, and threatened, in case of refusal, to rush in, and sacrifice his men with the tomahawk. Hobbs, in a voice which shook the forest, as often returned a defiance, and urged his enemy to put his threats in execution. The action continued with undaunted resolution, and not unfrequently, the enemy approached Hobbs' line; but were driven back to their first position, by the fatal fire of his sharp sighted marksmen; and thus about four hours elapsed, without either side giving up an inch of their original ground. At length, finding Hobbs determined on death or victory, and that his own men had suffered severely, Sackett ordered a retreat, carrying off his dead and wounded, and leaving his antagonist to continue his march without further molestation.

Notwithstanding the severity of the conflict, Hobbs' men were so well covered, that they lost only three of their number, viz: Ebenezer Mitchel, Eli Scott and Samuel Gunn, and the same number were wounded; that of the enemy was supposed to be great; for during the struggle, particularly when they advanced and exposed themselves, many were seen to fall, and the ground was profusely covered with blood. In all battles the Indians endeavour to conceal their loss, and in effecting this, they sometimes expose themselves more than in combat with their enemy. When one falls, his nearest comrade crawls up, under cover of the trees and brush, and fixing a *tump line* to the dead body, cautiously drags it to the rear. Hobbs' men related that in this action they often

saw the dead bodies of the Indians sliding along the ground, as if by enchantment.

This battle was often mentioned by the old people of the vicinity, with great exultation, as exhibiting a master piece of persevering bravery. Sackett's number has not been accurately given; but it is pretty certainly ascertained, they were at least four to one of the English. With this superiority, it would appear that he could not have failed of a victory, had he turned Hobbs' flanks, and attacked in the rear. It is however probable that he was not fully apprized of his great superiority, and so long as this remained doubtful he might have considered it dangerous to weaken his line.

Though completely foiled in this attack, the enemy were not deterred from further exertions. On the fourteenth of July, one hundred and twenty of the same party, ambuscaded seventeen men, between Hinsdale and fort Dummer; killed two on the spot, and wounded the same number; four effected their escape, and the remainder were made prisoners. Two of the wounded were massacred after being carried about a mile. Ensign Thomas Taylor was among the captives.\* The same month, Aaron Belding was killed in the village of Northfield.

Fort Massachusetts which had been rebuilt, and garrisoned by one hundred men, under captain Ephraim Williams, suffered little interruption from the enemy until the latter part of the Summer. But on the second of August, four men who were out some distance, were fired upon; captain Williams sallied with thirty men, and drove the enemy about forty rods, when fifty Indians, in ambuscade on his right, rose and gave him a general discharge, and attempted to cut off his communication with the fort; but by a quick movement he frustrated their

\* Ensign Taylor, on his return from Canada, gave a description of the rout of the Indians to Crown Point. They crossed the Connecticut at a place then called *Catts-bane*, two or three miles above the mouth of West river, which they fell in with, at the *lower fork*; thence proceeded up that river, part of the way on the flats, over the ground where Capt. Melvin's affair happened, three or four miles below the *upper fork*; thence to the source of the river, and over the high lands to Otter creek; thence down this creek several miles, and crossing, proceeded to lake Champlain, about twelve miles south of Crown Point, whence they proceeded in canoes to that post. The enemy carried several of their wounded, and were joined on the rout by another body with a prisoner, Mrs. Fitch, taken at Lunenburg. The Indians halted in the middle of the forenoon, at noon, and the middle of the afternoon—their march about twenty miles per day.



plan, and regained the place, with the loss of one Abbot, and Lieut. Hawley, and Ezekiel Wells, wounded. A large body of the enemy then advanced, and opened their fire on the fort, which they continued about two hours, under a spirited fire from the garrison. Unable to make an impression, they drew off, carrying their killed and wounded. The enemy were estimated at about three hundred, including thirty Frenchmen. The attack on the sallying party gave the first notice that the enemy were in force, in the vicinity. Williams put much at hazard, in sallying before he ascertained the strength of the enemy; and had he fallen, his party might have been cut off, and the loss of the fort the consequence. An excess of bravery is the common fault of a hero, and he is ever ready to mix in the *melee*, without entrusting the command to a subordinate; or reflecting that circumspection is one of the first virtues of a commander.

About this time a party were attacked in the woods not far from fort Dummer, and lieutenant John Sargents the commander, mortally wounded and tomahawked, and several made prisoners; among whom was Daniel Sargents, son of the lieutenant, who was carried to Canada.

The eastern frontiers suffered little from incursions of the enemy this year. An attack on a plantation at Rochester, in New Hampshire, in the month of May, in which the wife of Jonathan Hodgedon was killed, is the only case recorded.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle took place on the eighteenth of October, 1748, which terminated the war between England and France. But tranquility did not immediately follow; the Indians still hovered about the frontiers of New Hampshire, and after the principal part of the troops were withdrawn, they committed depredations. In the month of June 1749, Obadiah Sortwell was killed, and a son of the veteran, Capt. Stevens, captured at Charlestown, and carried to Canada; but he soon returned. This ended hostilities on the Connecticut, and in September, a final treaty of peace was concluded with the Indians, at Falmouth. Once more relieved from the scalping knife and tomahawk, Massachusetts discharged part of their forces on the frontiers; but small garrisons were retained at forts Dummer, and Mas-

sachusetts, as a future check to the Indians. During this as well as the former war, Connecticut occasionally raised small forces in aid of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which were posted at Stockbridge, Pontoosuck (Pittsfield,) Deerfield and Northfield, with troops from Massachusetts.

Though the principal efforts of the enemy were directed against New Hampshire and Massachusetts, New York did not remain uninterrupted. While they fortunately kept the five nations on friendly terms, the Canadian Indians now and then committed hostilities on their frontiers. To guard against these, a line of forts was maintained from Schaghticoke, at the mouth of Hoosac river, up the Mohawk, and a considerable garrison was posted at Oswego, and a few men at Saratoga. Notwithstanding these precautions, the latter place, containing about thirty families, was burnt, and most of the people massacred, in November, 1747. The assembly of New York, prior to this event, had been extremely averse to offensive measures, probably from a mistaken belief that a pacific conduct, and a continuance of trade would insure safety. But through the earnest recommendation of governor Clinton, they now adopted offensive measures. Ten pounds bounty was offered for the scalps of Indians over sixteen years of age, and twenty pounds for each adult taken alive. Scouts were also established, the garrisons at the advanced posts strengthened, and orders given for fortifying a camp at the great *carrying place*, since fort Edward.

But after the destruction of Saratoga, no serious attacks were made on the frontiers of that province; and it appears that the governor of Canada disapproved of incursions into that quarter, for he urged it upon the Cahnawagas, whom he called his *children*, not to spill more blood from Albany upwards, but to turn their arms against New England—"against their inveterate enemy. There, said he, is the place to gain renown."\* One or two predatory excursions, by parties of the five nations, upon the settlements above Montreal, in which several Frenchmen were brought off, and a few scalps taken, were the

principal exploits in that quarter of the country, during the war.

On a review of the operations of the war, and indeed of all the preceding wars in which the French were engaged, there appears a striking difference in the management, on the part of the English and their enemy. While the former confined themselves chiefly to defensive measures, the latter kept out parties on the English frontiers killing, scalping, and capturing the people, and carrying them to Canada, where they were often redeemed by their friends at an exorbitant price; and by this system their parties were handsomely rewarded for their services, by the suffering English. The French, it is evident, possessed great advantages over the English, from the numerous Indians under their control, who were perfectly acquainted with the intermediate wilderness, lakes and debouches, and who, from their simple mode of living, were at all times sure to find subsistence. A union of the colonies at this time would have turned the scales, and Canada might have been wrested from the French, by an army of no great force. But divided as they were, their efforts were weak, tardy and ineffectual; and Massachusetts and New Hampshire were left to contend with the enemy, with little aid from the other colonies, and their sufferings were severe.

Thus pressed, the two colonies, as in the preceding wars, granted large bounties on Indian scalps, by which scouting parties were induced to turn out from the militia and scour the woods bordering the frontiers, and they were often the only protecting forces. Of the policy of this measure, different opinions have been entertained. While on the one hand, the practice has been considered as necessary for the defence of the distressed country, and perfectly reconcilable with the principles of a defensive war; on the other, it has been condemned as of no real utility, and viewed as barbarous in the extreme. Those who view the practice in the latter light, it is believed have not examined the subject with the attention it deserves.

Whether the wars with the Indians originated in the injustice of the English, or the sanguinary disposition of the savages, may be laid out of the question. Suppose the former was the case—war once commenced, measures

of defence must be adopted—the country abandoned, or the inhabitants butchered without discrimination. Abandonment was impossible; defence or death was then the only alternative, and between these none would hesitate. How then was a sufficient force to be raised? Population was thin and widely extended, and the country was unable to pay a force sufficiently numerous to line the frontiers. Detachments from the militia, then, were the only modes by which troops could be procured, and these must be paid, or the duty equalized; but the latter was impossible from the extent of the country. By granting bounties on scalps, volunteer corps were induced to turn out and scour the frontiers, and thus a force was kept in service, at an expense within the ability of the inhabitants. But was the practice of scalping barbarous? That which is *necessary*, can hardly bear that appellation. To scalp the *dead* is no cruelty, more than dissections in anatomy. To kill in fair fight, or by stratagem, in time of war, is legal; it is necessary only to prohibit killing *after the enemy submits*, and against this, government laid restrictions. The bounty on Indian captives was generally the same as that on scalps. In New York it was higher. If this restriction was sometimes disregarded, the persons offending were in fault, and not the government, more than when any other wholesome laws were infringed. If it be said the practice necessarily exposed the prisoners to death, the question then presents, whether this were not better on the whole, than that the frontiers should be left without a protecting force, and the inhabitants butchered or driven from their settlements, by an enemy who were under no restraints, and would hearken to no terms of peace, until driven to it by a military force. But if we except the wars with the Pequots and Philip, and here it is not clear that the English were the aggressors, it will appear from history, that the wars with the Indians did not originate in the injustice of the English colonists, but in the disputes between the mother country and France. When hostilities commenced between these two nations, they at once embraced their colonies in America; and the French, who had great influence over the Indian tribes, had but to give them leave, and hordes of savages infested the frontiers of the Eng-

lish colonies, and murder and devastation followed. Had William Penn, and his Quakers, planted in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, his placid system would have been but a feeble shield against indiscriminate butchery. And indeed, when the French took possession of the country on the Ohio, the people of Pennsylvania did not escape the common calamities of others bordering on the French territory, and nothing but a military force saved them from the scalping knife. If this view of the case be correct, our forefathers are not chargeable with cruelty in their wars with the Indians which originated in Europe, and over which they had no control. Defence or death were their only alternatives, and the weak state of the country rendered it impossible to employ a body of troops under constant pay, sufficient for protection.

An adventurous journey to Canada in the early part of the year 1748, by a small party under Lieut. Col. John Hawks, the hero of fort Massachusetts, who had recently returned from captivity, may not be uninteresting. Having received a commission from governor Shirley of Massachusetts to obtain young Allen, taken at Deerfield in 1746, in exchange for Pierre Rambout, the French officer captured at Winchester, as has been related; he set out from Deerfield, accompanied by Lieut. Matthew Cleson, John Taylor and Rambout, in the month of February, and proceeded up the Connecticut to Charlestown; and on the eleventh, left that place for Crown Point. The season was inclement, and as the ground was deeply covered with snow, the march was made on *rackets*, and their provisions, stinted to the smallest quantity to sustain life, was transported at their backs. At night their camp was upon the snow, according to the Indian mode, often with no covering but the heavens. Nor were they without apprehensions of meeting with the savages against whom their flag might afford but a feeble protection.

The route from Charlestown led up Black river upon the ice, about twenty two miles, (as they estimated,) to the present town of Ludlow; where they left the river, and passed the highlands in the present town of Mount Holly, to a branch of Otter creek, which they followed to its mouth; thence down Otter creek about twenty four miles, passing two cataracts. They then left the creek,

and steering a westerly course, struck the head of a stream, which they pursued to its junction with lake Champlain, opposite to Carillon, (Ticonderoga.) The route was then continued on the ice to Crown Point, and thence in the usual course on lake Champlain to Canada.

From Charlestown, the route was wholly through a wild forest, with no road excepting Indian paths, and often without a trace, and the compass and rivers were their only guide. The country is now covered by the following towns, some of which are populous and flourishing. Beginning at the mouth of Black river: Springfield, Weathersfield, Cavendish,\* Ludlow, Mount Holly, Shrewsbury, Clarendon, Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Sudbury and Orwell on lake Champlain.

At Montreal Rambout was delivered to the French commander, and search made for young Allen, who was at length found among the Indians; and unaccountable as it may appear, though he had resided with them but about eighteen months, he had acquired a strong attachment to their mode of life, and discovered great aversion to returning home; and even attempted to avoid his deliverers. When brought into the presence of Col. Hawks, he with reluctance acknowledged that he recognized him, though he was his uncle, and had been well known to him at Deerfield—nor would he converse in English. Various means were used to dissuade him from his strange predilection, but all without effect, and his obstinacy was conquered only by threats and force. Nor did his Indian attachments cease in his old age, and he often declared that the Indian mode of life was the most happy.

After obtaining Allen, Hawks and his party returned to Deerfield in the early part of May, 1749, nearly on their outward route; but not without apprehensions from the Indians, who indicated a strong disposition to follow and rescue the lad.

Our fathers "by hardships sinewed, and by danger fired," looked not for insurmountable impediments in a march of three hundred miles, with provisions at the back, through a wilderness infested by hostile savages, and covered by deep snow, and where no shelter was af-

\* In this town is an eminence called *Hawk's mountain*. Thus named from the commander of the party.

forded but the bleak heavens. If by *modern improvements*, we their sons have become more *refined*, it must be acknowledged, we have lost their masculine virtues, and should shrink at such a task, and view it beyond the power of the most robust. Indeed few among us are to be found with resolution to undertake, and fewer still, to sustain the fatigues of such a tour.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

THE continued hostilities on the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, effectually obstructed the progress of settlements beyond the limits at the commencement of the war. Population had been much retarded in the older parts of the country, many had been killed, and captured, or disabled by wounds, and the two provinces were involved in a public debt; and as the Indians soon evinced a disposition to renew hostilities, the peace that had been concluded at Falmouth, promised but a short respite from further depredations.

Soon after the termination of the war, several persons applied to governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, for grants of townships on the west side of Connecticut river, then supposed to be within the limits of that government; and several were made. Among which were Bennington, in 1749; Halifax, in 1750; Marlborough and Wilmington in 1751; Westminster and Rockingham in 1752; Putney, Townsend, Vernon and Brattleborough in 1753. Measures were also taken for extending settlements up Connecticut river; and towns were granted on both banks not long after. A plan was also proposed for establishing a *military settlement* on the rich intervals at Coos. A road was to be cut out to that place, two towns laid out, one on each side of the river, opposite to each other, and stockades, with lodgments for two hundred men in each township to be erected, enclosing a space of fifteen acres; in the centre of which was to be a citadel, containing the public buildings, and granaries sufficient to receive the inhabitants and movable effects, in

case of necessity. Courts of justice were to be established, and other civil privileges granted to the people; and they were to be under strict military discipline.

A large number of people engaged in the enterprise; and in the Spring of 1752, a party was sent up to view Coos meadows, and lay out the proposed townships. The movements were noticed by the Indians, and a party of the St. Francis tribe was deputed to remonstrate against the project. They came to Charlestown, and informed captain Stevens, that if the English encroached on the lands, which they pretended to claim, they should resist by force. This determination was communicated to the governor of New Hampshire, and the scheme was laid aside.\*

Had the project been carried into execution, the settlement would have afforded but a feeble protection to the towns on the Connecticut below, in a future war; and the post would have proved a scene of blood and contest, and probably have been wrested from the English by a strong force from Canada. But if held, it must have been at great expence of lives and treasure, from the difficulty of keeping open a line of operation, with the towns below, and furnishing supplies of provisions and ammunition.

Before the project was attempted, difficulties had arisen with the Indians in the eastern quarter of New England; and on the eleventh of September, 1750, they attacked the fort at Richmond. On the twenty fourth of the same month, an inhabitant was carried off from New Marblehead; and a few days after a house was attacked in Georgetown, on Parker's island. Orders were issued by governor Shirley, for the neighboring towns to be on their guard, and prepared for defence. Hostilities had also commenced in Nova Scotia, at Minas and Chignecto.

In August, 1751, intelligence was received at Boston, that a number of the Penobscots had joined the St. Francis Indians, with a design of attacking the frontiers; and the intelligence was immediately communicated to colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield, with orders to apprize the garrisons of Charlestown, Dummer and Massachusetts, of their danger. It was now evident that the peace of Aix la Chapelle, as well as that with the Indians at Fal-

\* Belknap's New Hampshire, Vol. ii. p. 277.



mouth, was to have no other effect than a short cessation of arms ; and that the frontiers were very soon to suffer a reiteration of the horrors of an Indian war.

Early the next year, the expected storm burst on the frontiers of New Hampshire. Four men who were hunting on Baker's river, a branch of the Merrimack, in the month of May, were surprised by ten or twelve St. Francis Indians. John Stark, since a general in the army of the United States, and the hero of Bennington, and one Eastman, were made prisoners. William Stark, brother of the general, being in a canoe, gained the opposite shore of the river, and escaped ; but a young man accompanying him was killed. The two captives were carried up Connecticut river, and over several portages to Memphremagog lake, and thence to the head quarters of the Indians. Stark was at first treated with great severity, but subsequently adopted as a son of one of the Indian families, and much caressed. He however had the good fortune to escape, and got safely home.\*

The encroachments of the French on the Ohio, in 1754, and the hostile conduct of the Indians on the frontiers of New England, now rendering it probable that a war must follow, orders were sent from England for the colonies to repel them by force. These were accompanied with a recommendation to the colonies, to form a union for mutual defence. The necessity of some united effort had been felt in the preceding wars, and governor Shirley immediately proposed to the several governors to send delegates to Albany, empowered to enter into articles of confederation ; and also to hold a treaty with the (now) Six Nations of Indians. And on the fourteenth of June, delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the lieutenant governor and council of New York, convened at Albany, and after a treaty with the Indians, agreed on a plan of union.

Application was to be made to Parliament, to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a *president general*, appointed by the crown, and a general council, consisting of members chosen by the several colonial assemblies. The whole executive

\* He was a captian in major Rogers' corps of rangers in the ensuing war.

authority was to be committed to the president general, and the power of legislation was lodged jointly in a grand council and the president general, his consent being made necessary to the passing a bill into a law. The powers vested in the president and council were, to declare war and make peace; to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to regulate trade with them, and to make purchases of vacant lands, either in the name of the crown, or of the Union: to settle new colonies, and to make laws for governing them, until they should be erected into separate governments; and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and use other means for the general defence.

To effect these purposes, a power was given to make laws, laying such duties, imports, or taxes as should be found necessary, and as should be least burdensome to the people. All laws to be sent to England, for the approbation of the king, and unless disapproved within three years, they were to remain in force. All officers in the land or sea service were to be nominated by the president general, and approved by the general council; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president.\*

"All the delegates excepting those of Connecticut, agreed to the plan, and copies were sent to each province, and one to the king's council; but it shared the singular fate of being rejected by both: by the first, because it was supposed to give too much power to the representatives of the king; and by the last, because it was supposed to give too much power to the representatives of the people."†

The plan of Union having failed, the colonies were left to prosecute the war under their former imbecile system. On the twenty first of June, 1754, governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, issued orders to the commanders of regiments, to assemble their troops for inspection of the arms and equipments of their men, returns thereof to be made to head quarters; and the several towns were directed to furnish themselves with their stock of ammunition, as required by law.

Hostilities about this time commenced between the

\* Holmes, Vol. ii, p. 206.

† Ibid. p. 201.

French and English on the frontiers of Pennsylvania; and reports having been received that the French were building a fort high up the Kennebec, the general court of Massachusetts promptly raised eight hundred men who were ordered to rendezvous at Falmouth. With five hundred of these troops, under general Winslow, the governor proceeded up the Kennebec, and built fort Halifax, at Taconnet falls, and explored the country above Norridgewock, but no fort nor enemy was discovered; and having erected fort Western at Cushenoc, the principal part of the troops returned down the river, and the governor proceeded to Boston. During his absence, he renewed the treaty of 1749, with the eastern Indians.

On the fifteenth of August, another attack was made on the frontiers of New Hampshire. A woman was killed and several other people captured, at Baker's town, on the Pamigewasset. A few days after, the enemy killed a man at Steplentown, in the same neighborhood, and on the thirteenth of the same month, they surprised the house of James Johnson at Charlestown, took Mr. Johnson, his wife, three children, a daughter of lieutenant Willard, Ebenezer Farnsworth, Peter Laboree; Aaron Hosmer eluded the Indians, by secreting himself under a bed, and at length escaped. The Indians took the route to Crown Point, with the prisoners. On the second day's march, Mrs. Johnson was delivered of a daughter, who was named *Captive*. In this critical situation, she had little hopes of escaping the hatchet; but contrary to their usual conduct, the Indians treated her and her infant, with tenderness, carrying them part of the route on a litter, and they took much pains in nursing the infant. From Crown Point the prisoners were conveyed to Canada, and Mr. Johnson soon after returned home on parole; but Mrs. Johnson, with two of her daughters, and Miss Willard who was her sister, were at length sent in a cartel ship to England, and thence returned to Boston. Her eldest daughter was retained in a nunnery in Canada.

The scene next opened in another quarter. On the twenty eighth of May, about one hundred Indians entered Dutch Hoosac, about ten miles west of fort Massachusetts. Their first attack was made on a few men at a mill, where they killed Samuel Bowen, and wounded

John Barnard; they then rushed into the settlement, fired the houses, barns, and a large quantity of wheat in the stack, and killed most of the cattle. The next day they burnt the settlements at St. Coick; but as most of the people had previously fled from both places, few lives were lost. A party of militia turned out at Albany, and marched to the scene of destruction; but the enemy had retired into the woods. The garrison at fort Massachusetts was too weak to afford any important aid. Captain Chapin who commanded at that place, stated the loss of Hoosac, at seven dwelling houses, fourteen barns, and fourteen *barracks* of wheat; and about the same at St. Coick; amounting in the whole, at rough estimate, to four thousand pounds, York currency. The depredations were attributed principally to the Schaghticoke Indians, many of whom were descendants of the New England Indians, who had left Connecticut river, in Philip's war.

Soon after the destruction of these places, a party of Indians penetrated to Stockbridge, and attacked the house of one Chamberlain, and after some resistance, killed a man by the name of Owen, and two children. A small body of troops were immediately sent to the exposed towns from Connecticut, part of which were posted at Pontoosuck, (Pittsfield). Some depredations were committed in Maine in the fall of the same year.

Finding the enemy determined on blood and devastation, Massachusetts adopted more extensive measures of defence on her western frontiers. Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, commanding the northern regiment of militia in the county of Hampshire,\* was again entrusted with the defence of that quarter of the province. This officer, during the former war, had acquired extensive knowledge of the geography of the country, bordering the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which enabled him to produce a sketch of the country, which he communicated to governor Shirley, with a plan of defence to be adopted; and though in some particulars, similar to that of the last war, it contained many improvements. Forts Shirley and Pelham, having afforded

\* The county at this time contained only two regiments; the southern was under Col. John Worthington of Springfield.

little protection in the preceding war, he proposed should be abandoned, and a line of smaller works erected on the north side of Deerfield river, through the valley of Charlemont; the old works at Northfield, Bernardston, Colrain, Greenfield and Deerfield to be repaired, and others erected; forts Dummer and Massachusetts strengthened and furnished with light artillery, and respectable garrisons. Small works to be erected at Stockbridge, Pontoosuck and Blandford, and two others to the westward of fort Massachusetts, to form a cordon with the line of works in New York. The fort at Charlestown, being out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and difficult to supply, he proposed should be abandoned; and as in the former war, ranging parties to be constantly employed on the line of forts, and in the wilderness, now the state of Vermont; and a vigilant eye to be kept on the routes and debouches from Crown Point.

Colonel Williams' system of defence, was communicated by the governor to the general court, and adopted, excepting the abandonment of Charlestown; and a body of troops was ordered to be raised for the western frontiers, and stationed at the discretion of Col. Williams. Forts Dummer and Massachusetts already contained small garrisons, and were works of considerable strength, though untenable against artillery; and both were furnished with a few pieces of ordnance. The other works were either *mounts*, a diminutive kind of block house, or stockaded dwelling houses, bearing the names of the resident families, defensible only against musketry. At Bernardston, on Connecticut river, were Sheldon's and Burk's garrisons; at Colrain, Morrison's and Lucas'; at Charlemont, Taylor's, Rice's and Hawks'; at Pontoosuck, Goodrich's and Williams', and small works were also built at Williamstown, at Sheffield and Blandford; some of which were furnished with swivels and small garrisons, under subaltern officers.

For the defence of the northwest quarter of the province, the troops were raised in the counties of Worcester and Hampshire; but Connecticut frequently furnished garrisons for the southwest posts in Massachusetts. Capt. Ephraim Williams, who had ably discharged his duties as commander of the cordon, in the preceding war, was

again appointed commander, with the rank of major. Deerfield was the depot for the commissary's stores, provided for the troops in that quarter, and a small force was there posted for their protection; and major Elijah Williams, appointed commissary of the department. As no troops had been ordered to Charlestown by New Hampshire, the inhabitants made application to Massachusetts for a protecting force, and a company from that province was ordered to that post.

Settlements at this time had extended some distance from Connecticut river, in the county of Hampshire; on the west a few were begun at Huntstown, now Ashfield; on the east side, at Hunting hill, (Montague,) Road Town, (Shutesbury,) Cold Spring, (Belchertown,) and New Salem.\* A few houses in these places were slightly fortified, and at Huntstown, a small garrison was maintained by the province.

The principal forts on the eastern frontiers, besides Halifax and Western on Kennebec, were at Brunswick, Pemaquid, St. Georges and Saco; but many houses were protected by small works, built by individuals and guarded by the inhabitants. At the close of 1754, the incursions of the enemy having relaxed, several of the garrisons of the small forts were diminished.

The reiterated wars with the French and Indians, had clearly demonstrated, that the English colonies were to expect no permanent peace, until the possessions in Canada were wrested from the French. Great Britain therefore, resolved to send a regular force to America, to be joined by a body of provincials, to capture the advanced posts of the enemy. Early in the Spring of 1755. two regiments of regulars arrived under general Braddock, who in a conference with several colonial governors, resolved to carry three expeditions against the French possessions. One against fort du Quesne, another against Niagara, and the third against Crown Point. That against Niagara, was intrusted to the command of governor Shirley, and that against the latter post, to Gen. William Johnson. The troops composing the latter army assembled at Albany in the fore part of summer, amounting

\* The settlers of Shutesbury and New Salem were principally from Middleborough.

nearly to five thousand men, from New England and New York. Major Ephraim Williams, commander of the western line of forts in Massachusetts, was appointed by governor Shirley, to the command of one of the regiments which was promptly raised, principally in the county of Hampshire, and captain Isaac Wyman succeeded him, as commander of fort Massachusetts.

The expeditions against the French posts were highly pleasing to the people on the frontier settlements, as they flattered themselves they should be relieved from further incursions of the Indians; but their hopes were falacious. In June a party of people at work in a meadow, in the upper part of Charlemont, near Rice's fort, were attacked by a party of Indians; captain Rice and Phineas Arms were killed, and Titus King and Asa Rice, a lad, were captured, and conveyed to Crown Point, and thence to Canada. King was sometime afterwards carried to France, thence to England, whence he at length returned to Northampton, his native place.

Additional forces were soon after raised by Massachusetts, the garrisons strengthened on the frontiers, and the people were required to go armed when attending public worship; and it was made the duty of the militia officers to see that the order was strictly observed. Ranging parties were now ordered to be raised, to traverse the woods to the northward of the Massachusetts cordon of forts; and to induce them to turn out more readily, bounties were offered for Indian scalps. The following instructions from Lieut. Gov. Phipps, who in the absence of governor Shirley, was at the head of the government of Massachusetts, to captain Lyman of Northampton, who was appointed to command one of the ranging companies, will shew the nature of the service they were required to perform, as well as the style of the orders of the time.

*"Boston, June 19, 1755.*

"Sir,

"Having appointed you to be a captain of such volunteers as have enlisted, or may enlist under you (not to consist of less than thirty men) upon the encouragement offered by the government, to such companies as shall penetrate into the Indian country, in order to captivate or

kill any of the tribes, this government hath declared war against. You must take care to enlist none but able bodied men, and see that they be well armed, and furnished with proper ammunition. You are allowed to take thirty day's provisions for your company, out of the commissary's office, before you march.

You must perform a scout of at least thirty days upon every march, unless some special reason for the good of the service shall appear for your returning before that time. And in such case, you must account for your company's provisions not expended.

You may march in a whole body or in two or three divisions, and upon several routes as you and your commissioned officers shall judge most expedient, and most likely to answer your design.

You, and each of your commissioned officers, must keep as exact journals as you can, in each of your marches, to which you must be sworn before me, or one of his majesty's justices of the peace, and exhibit the same to me, or to the commander in chief. And before you receive the bounty for any Indian killed or captured, you must deliver up the person captivated, or scalps of those you kill, at Boston, to such person as I shall order to receive the same.

I am your friend and servant,

PHIPPS.\*

To Capt. Lyman."

The duty of the ranging corps, was arduous, and required men inured to the greatest fatigue and danger. Thirty days provision upon the back, with the requisite ammunition, in addition to their muskets and equipments, was no trifling load. At night their camp was upon the ground, with no cover, except brush huts, ill calculated to shield the men from the inclemency of the weather. In winter the march was made on snow shoes, to which they were sometimes disciplined before the campaign opened, and their lodging was generally according to the Indian mode, in the open air. If a man became sick,

\* The monthly pay of the troops on the frontiers, established by the government of Massachusetts, June 11, 1755, was as follows: 1st. *Marching Forces*.—Captain, £4 16s—Lieutenant, £3 4s—Sergeant, £1 14s—Corporal or private, £1 6s 8d.—2d *Garrison Forces*.—Captain, £4—Lieutenant, £3—Sergeant, £1 10s—Corporal, £1 8s—Drummer, £1 8s—Centinel, £1 4s—Armourer at the westward, £3



or was wounded, he was either sent back or carried on by his companions, perhaps without medicine, and there was little chance for recovery. To guard against surprises, it was necessary to march and encamp with circumspection. On discovering a path much frequented by the Indians, and of these there were many through all parts of the wilderness, the rangers carefully selected a point favourable for an ambuscade, and there lay for days concealed, awaiting the approach of the enemy.

In stratagem and finesse, they were little, if at all, inferior to the Indians; and in combat, on equal terms, generally superior. When scalps were obtained, the bounty paid by government was equally divided among the officers and soldiers, without regard to rank; and as the corps were generally inlisted in the same neighborhood, and composed of men of similar circumstances, little distinction was kept up between them and their officers. Provided they were brave, hardy, and good marksmen, which was their general character, nothing further was supposed necessary, to qualify them for the service.

With the mechanical discipline of regular troops, they were wholly unacquainted; and perhaps it may be questioned, whether an attempt to instruct them in the principles of regular tactics, would have rendered them more formidable, while acting in *small bodies*, and in a country so thickly covered with woods; and broken into hills and vallies, where little order could be maintained. A simple mode of marching, with flankers—of forming on sudden emergencies by file movements and by signals, were all that was requisite.\*

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## CHAPTER XVII.

THE army under general Johnson, on the frontiers of the province of New York, though it checked incursions on the northwest quarter of Massachusetts, afforded little security to the frontiers on Connecticut river. The St.

\* The celebrated partisan, major Rogers, introduced a system of this kind, into his corps, which proved excellent in his numerous marches through the woods, during this war.

Francis tribe of Indians, commanding an easy route through Memphremagog lake, and several contiguous streams, made frequent inroads, and committed much mischief on the frontiers of New Hampshire. In the month of June, a man and boy were captured at New Hopkinton, but immediately after retaken by a scouting party. The same month an attack was made on a fort at Keene, commanded by Capt. Sims; but the enemy, after some vigorous fighting, were driven off. On their retreat, they killed many cattle, burnt several houses, and captured Benjamin Twitchel. At Walpole they killed Daniel Twitchel and another man, by the name of Flynt. Soon after colonel Bellows of the same place, at the head of twenty men was attacked by fifty Indians, and after a spirited conflict, broke through them and gained his fort, without the loss of a man. Not long after, a large body of Indians attacked the fort of John Kilburne, in Hinsdale, in which were two men, two lads and a few women, who defended the place with great bravery, and finally compelled the enemy to retire; John Pike, one of the men, was mortally wounded. About this time the Indians killed a number of cattle at Charlestown.

In the same month the enemy killed one Frizzle, at Keene; and a party of people at work in the woods at Hinsdale were attacked, and John Hardiclay and John Alexander killed; Jonathan Colbey was captured; others escaped to a fort. But the most disastrous affair that occurred on Connecticut river, this season, was at Bridgeman's fort, in Vernon meadow, a short distance below fort Dummer. A fortified house had been destroyed at the same place in 1747, and another built soon after. It was situated in a low piece of ground, in the vicinity of elevated land, from which an easy view was had into the interior. A party of Indians, seizing this advantage, had, as was supposed, viewed the place, and discovered the signal by which the people without gained admittance through the gate, and they laid a plan to seize it by stratagem. But prior to their attempt, Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout, Benjamin Garfield, and two lads, the sons of Howe, left the fort and went into an adjacent meadow, near Connecticut river, to work in a field of corn. Returning towards the fort at sunset, they were fired upon




by about a dozen of Indians in ambuscade, near the path; Howe, who was on horseback with his two sons, received a shot in his thigh, which brought him to the ground; on which the Indians, rushing up, pierced him with their spears, tore off his scalp and took the two lads. Garfield and Grout escaped; but the former, attempting to pass the river at a ford, was drowned. The next morning, a party of people found Howe still alive, and conveyed him to Hinsdale, where he soon expired.

The families of the sufferers were in the fort, and had heard the firing of the Indians, but were ignorant of the fate of their friends. Waiting impatiently for their return, they in the dusk of evening, heard a rapping at the gate, and the tread of people on the exterior, and concluding the absent men were making the usual signal for entrance, they opened it, and to their astonishment, received a party of ferocious Indians, who made the whole prisoners, consisting of Mrs. Jemima Howe, Submit Grout, and Eunice Garfield, with their eleven children. After plundering and firing the place, the Indians retired into the woods, about two miles, and encamped. The next day they resumed their march towards Crown Point, and after eight days, reached lake Champlain, where the Indians had left their canoes, and soon after proceeded to that post. Here they remained about a week, and then proceeded down the lake to St. Johns, and at length to St. Francis village on the St. Lawrence. Mrs. Howe, after a series of hard fortune, in various places with the Indians, and a residence with a Frenchman, who purchased her of her master, returned home, leaving her children in Canada. Two of her daughters were placed in a nunnery, one of whom was subsequently redeemed by Mrs. Howe, who made a journey to Canada for the purpose; another was carried to France, by the French governor, where she married a Frenchman, named *Cron Lewis*.\*

\* This gentleman accompanied D'Estaing's fleet to Boston, in 1778, in the capacity of clerk to the count. An interesting account of Mrs. Howe's adventures has been written by the late Rev. Bunker Gay, of Hinsdale, and inserted in the appendix of Dr. Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. iii. Some particulars are also given of her in colonel Humphrey's Life of general Putnam, but with a few inaccuracies, which Mr. Gay has pointed out. Mrs. Howe was recently living at an advanced age, still retaining her mental powers, and often entertaining her friends with the incidents of her capture, and residence with the Indians.

The incursions of the enemy upon the frontiers of New Hampshire, on Connecticut river, were so frequent this year, that pressing application was made to the government of that province for a protecting body of troops. But notwithstanding the urgent recommendations of the governor, the assembly continued deaf to the calls of the people. Application was next made to Massachusetts; and the government of that province, sent a force for their relief, and the posts on the Connecticut were furnished with small garrisons. But still the troops were barely sufficient to defend them against attacks of small parties, and no attempts were made to act offensively. Meanwhile the Indians infested the woods at all points—often approached the forts in the night, and not unfrequently obtained the *watch words*, which they familiarly returned to the garrison in the morning. Thus exposed, it was with great difficulty the people pursued their labor; in some instances the crops were left to rot on the ground, and starvation threatened the inhabitants.

The chain of posts, on the frontiers of Massachusetts west of the Connecticut, was seldom visited by the enemy, and only a few Indians were occasionally seen. In the month of August an Indian scalp was obtained, and the bounty paid to forty five men, composing the garrison of fort Massachusetts, under the command of Capt. Wyman. The frontier of the province eastward of Connecticut river, was guarded by ranging companies, who scoured the woods from Northfield to the Merrimac.

The army under general Johnson assembled at Albany about the last of June, but was much retarded from the want of a supply of provisions; and in the month of July part of his force moved up the Hudson, and commenced the building of fort *Edward*, at the great *carrying place*, and in August was joined by the remainder of the army. A road was now cut out to lake George, and so far completed, as to admit the passage of the baggage, and in the latter part of the month, the army advanced and took a position at the southern extremity of the lake, where it lay some time waiting for batteaux, to enable it to proceed to Crown Point; the whole number less than five thousand. In the mean time a French force consisting of regulars, Canadians and Indians up ~~the~~ 

Dieskau, advanced up lake Champlain, and took possession of Ticonderoga, where Johnson was to have built a fort; and on the sixth and seventh of September, the Baron, with one thousand eight hundred men, two thirds regular troops, recently from France, proceeded up south bay to its southern extremity, where he landed and commenced his march for fort Edward, then but partially finished, and garrisoned by Col. Blanchard's regiment of New Hampshire troops. The Baron's plan was to carry that post, then to descend the Hudson, threaten Albany, and cut off Johnson's line of operation with that place; but halting about seven miles north of the fort, and communicating to the troops his plan of operation, he found the Canadians and Indians alarmed at Blanchard's artillery; but ready for an attack on Johnson's camp at lake George, which they had been informed, by a prisoner, was destitute of that terrible arm. On discovering this irresolution, the Baron changed his route, and crossing the woods in the northerly part of the present towns of Kingsbury and Queensbury, encamped near a pond, a small distance east of the lake George road, not far from the south point of a hill, now called *French mountain*.

The debarkation of the enemy at South bay, was the first intelligence received by Johnson, of the approach and design of the Baron; and he immediately communicated it to Col. Blanchard, at fort Edward, by expresses, with orders to call in his working parties, and be prepared for a vigorous defence. One of the expresses was intercepted and killed; another returned at midnight, and reported that he had discovered the enemy to the northward of fort Edward; probably only some advanced parties of Indians.

Johnson immediately assembled a council of officers, who advised, that one thousand men and two hundred Mohawks, should advance from the camp "to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their design."\* The next morning, Sept. 8th, the proposed detachment left camp, under the command of Col. Ephraim Williams, with two hundred Mohawks under king Hendrick, their old chief, and proceeded towards

\* Johnson's letter after the action.

fort Edward, where it was supposed the enemy would be found. In the mean time, Johnson's troops hove up a slight breastwork of logs cut in front of the camp, and two pieces of cannon, which had arrived a short time before, were hauled up from the lake shore, and mounted on the rude breastwork.

The road from Johnson's camp, led up a hollow way or ravine, formed by French mountain; a high rocky ridge on the left, and a more gradual rise on the right, the road skirted by woods, and presenting considerable inequalities. At the distance of about three and a half miles, the ravine was narrowed by an abrupt hill on the right, closing down to the road, forming a defile of no great width, and opening into more level ground.

Having discovered the advance of William's detachment by his Indian runners, and deposited his packs under a small guard, Dieskau advanced to the debouché of the defile, and formed his regulars across the road, where they were covered by the woods; the Canadians and Indians were posted on the right and left in *double potence*;<sup>\*</sup> his left extending along the crest of the eminence, which has been mentioned, and the right in the ravine, through which ran a small brook; the whole covered with woods,

Having advanced about two miles, Williams made a short halt, for the arrival of Hendrick's Indians, who were some distance in the rear.† On coming up, they took the front of the column, the chief mounted on a small horse; and the march was resumed, without apprehension that the enemy were near, or the precaution of throwing out flankers or even a vanguard in Hendrick's front. Probably Williams intrusted this service to the Mohawks. It was now about ten o'clock in the forenoon.

Continuing the march, about a mile, Hendrick, approximating the enemy's ambuscade, told Williams, he "scented Indians;" and pressing on a small distance, he

<sup>\*</sup> Troops are said to be drawn up *en potence* when part of a line is thrown forward, on one flank, forming an angle; in *double potence*, when part of both flanks are thrown forward, forming three sides of a square or parallelogram. The terms are French, and the latter is here adopted, as embracing the position of the Baron's ambuscade, with great precision; and far wiser of an *Engish* synonyme.

† A soldier who was in the detachment, stated that during this halt, flankers were thrown out on the right and left, in the thick woods, and while in this position, a drove of deer rushed down the valley, and passed between the sentries, indicating great fright. No suspicion however was entertained that they were rightened by the enemy, occupying the ground in front.



was suddenly hailed by one of the Baron's Indians—*Whence came you? From the Mohawks!*—*Whence came you?* replied Hendrick, *Montreal!* was the answer, and a few shot from the enemy instantly followed. After a momentary pause, the terrific Indian yell, pierced the woods in various directions, and a heavy fire poured upon the left of Williams' column, and Hendrick's Indians in front, which cut down great numbers. Observing the elevated ground on his right, Williams ordered his men, then in an extended column of files in the road, to mount it, and gain a more defensible position. This was immediately attempted; but they had made but a short advance, when a deadly fire showered upon them from the hill, which killed the commander, threw the whole into confusion, and strewed the ground with dead and wounded. A confused retreat of English and Mohawks intermixed, commenced along the road, and in the woods upon the flanks, closely pressed by the enemy—the flying troops falling every moment. Some degree of order being restored at a small pond near the road, since called *Bloody pond*, part of the troops formed, took a position behind it, and maintained their ground a short time, with resolution; but overpowered by numbers, they were compelled to retire, and the retreat was continued under a hot fire, from behind trees, logs and other covers, which checked the pursuing enemy, and cut down considerable numbers.

The firing was heard in Johnson's camp at the lake, and three hundred men under Lieut. Col. Cole, detached to sustain Williams, or cover his retreat, if defeated. A short distance north of *Bloody pond*, Cole met the retreating troops, and by his fire checked the pursuit of the enemy, and covered the broken detachment into camp, where they arrived in great confusion, with exaggerated representations of the number, and ferocity of the enemy.

The loss of the detachment was severe. Col. Williams fell by a shot through his head, as he was leading his men towards the eminence, as has been mentioned, and the command devolved upon Lieut. Col. Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who is said to have conducted bravely on the retreat. The Mohawks lost about forty of their warriors, and their chief Hendrick, who was much esteemed by them, as well as by the English.

Dieskau evinced much skill and judgment in the choice of his position. One part of his plan however failed; he intended that Williams should have advanced so far within the flanks of his ambuscade, that the fire should have commenced from his regulars in the centre; and he had ordered his flanks to reserve their's until this should take place. But the impatience of the Indians brought on the fire too soon. Had this order been obeyed, Williams' detachment might have been surrounded and annihilated.

Having thus repulsed Williams, Dieskau pressed on towards Johnson's camp, with his Canadians and Indians upon his flanks, and arriving at the crest of an eminence, since called *Gage's-hill*, Johnson's army was discovered in order of battle, behind their breast work of logs, the flanks resting upon morasses, which spread on the right and left; in the centre was an eminence, the ground in front for some distance partially open and nearly level, and the lake in the rear.\*

Notwithstanding the strength of Johnson's position, and his numerical superiority, the Baron resolved to advance to the attack, and a little before noon, his column of regulars came out of the woods in front of Johnson's centre, and there made a halt, while his Canadians and Indians *helter-skelter*, upon his left, advanced and took a position in the woods on Johnson's right, and opened their fire from behind trees, logs, and brush, at the distance of about sixty yards; others in the mean time advanced on the left. The Baron now deployed his column of regulars, advanced and opened a platoon fire at the distance of about one hundred and forty yards, which was maintained some time, but with little effect. The previous repulse of Williams, the exaggerated account of the number and ferocity of the enemy, and the formidable appearance of the French regulars, produced some trepidation among Johnson's raw troops, but as the first fire of the enemy did little execution, the officers soon inspirited the troops, and they evinced a disposition to maintain their position.† The action now became general, the fire heavy on all

\* Old *Fort George*, now in ruins, occupies the eminence a little in the rear of the ground on which Johnson's line was formed. It was built by general Amherst, in 1759.

† The approach of a hostile body of troops, seldom fails of producing a degree of irresolution in raw troops. Several of Johnson's men have stated to me the effect



quarters, and the French troops maintained their ground with great obstinacy several hours under a fatal fire from the breast work; but they received little damage from Johnson's artillery, which was unskillfully served, most of the shot passing over their heads, cutting the trees in the rear, twenty or thirty feet from the ground; an error very common with young artillerists. Unable to make an impression on the centre, the Baron changed his point of attack to the left, and meeting with no better success, he moved towards Johnson's right, and opened a heavy fire on the regiments of Titcomb, Ruggles and Williams, the latter commanded by lieutenant colonel Pomeroy. These regiments sustained the attack with firmness, and delivering a well directed fire from their long hunting muskets, soon strewed the ground with dead and wounded. In the course of the action, a body of Indians pressed into the morass on the right of Johnson's line, and were galling that flank with their fire. A few shot from the artillery soon drove them from their cover, and their attacks became weak and ineffecutal. The Baron's attack on the right continued about an hour, but with no better success than his previous attacks; Johnson's troops remaining firm at their posts. Thus foiled in all his attempts, his Canadians and Indians driven from their ground, and his regulars beginning to slacken their fire, the Baron with reluctance ordered a retreat, and his line fell precipitately back into the woods, in some confusion. Observing this, Johnson's troops, without orders, leaped the breastwork, fell on the enemy and accelerated their flight towards bloody pond. The action continued nearly four hours, and during most of the time, as an officer who was present expressed himself, "there seemed nothing but thunder and lightning and perpetual pillars of smoke, and the bullets flew like hail stones." The wind being south drove the smoke directly in the faces of Johnson's men, covering them from the sight of the enemy, while they were openly exposed to the death dealing fire of John-

on themselves on first perceiving the enemy on the crest of Gage's-hill. The regulars advanced in a column of platoons, then a novelty to the provincial troops; and as the day was fair, their polished arms glittered through the tops of the intervening trees, like masses of icicles, multiplying their numbers ten fold. The regularity of the march as the column approached, increased their trepidation. Possessed of less native courage, for they had no discipline, they would have given way on the first fire. But these impressions were soon over; they became cool, and determined to maintain their ground at all hazards,

son's marksmen. General Lyman, second in command, is said to have exposed himself often in front of the breast-work, for the purpose of encouraging the men, and throughout the action conducted with great gallantry.

The brave Baron, who had received a wound in his leg, and unable to walk, was left alone resting upon the stump of a tree. A soldier approaching, he presented his sword as a token of submission; but this, as well as his *demandeur quartier*, being misunderstood, he attempted to draw his watch, intending to deliver it to the soldier; still misconceiving the Baron's intention, and supposing him in search of a pistol, he poured a charge through the Baron's hips, and advancing, took his gold watch. At this moment, lieutenant colonel Pomeroy came up, and receiving his sword, ordered him to Johnson's marquee, under the protection of a few soldiers. A party of Mohawks had now reached the spot, and seeing the captured general, they determined to revenge the death of their chief by sacrificing him; and it was with much difficulty the guard conducted him to quarters. The Baron's wound was incurable, but it did not prove mortal until October, 1767, several years after his arrival in Europe.

Notwithstanding Johnson's troops were partially covered, their loss was considerable; but no officer of the higher grades fell at the breast-work, excepting colonel Moses Titcomb. General Johnson and his aid de camp, major Nichols, were slightly wounded. According to a return from Dr. Perez Marsh, Surgeon's mate in Williams' regiment, the loss in both engagements, was two hundred and sixteen killed, and ninety six wounded, making a total of three hundred and twelve, and a few were missing.\*

Colonel Williams' regiment, the principal part of which was in the ambuscade in the morning, suffered the most severely; forty six men were killed, and twenty four wounded, and several missing. Besides the commander, the officers killed were, major Noah Ashley,

\* In a letter from lieutenant colonel Pomeroy, to his friends in Northampton, the loss of the several corps is given as follows:

*Massachusetts Regiments*—Titcomb's, thirty five killed; Williams', fifty do.; Ruggles', thirty seven do. *Connecticut*.—Goodrich's, thirty nine. New York troops, ten do. Rhode Island troops, twenty do. Mohawks, forty do. Total killed, two hundred and thirty one. Wounded according to Marsh, ninety six. Total killed and wounded, three hundred and twenty seven. Pomeroy's account probably includes the missing.

captains Moses Porter, Jonathan Ingersoll, and Elisha Hawley, the latter mortally wounded, died several days after the action; lieutenants Daniel Pomeroy, Simon Cobb, and Nathaniel Burt; ensigns John Stratton, and Reuben Wait. Most of these officers fell in the ambuscade in the morning. Very few were made prisoners, for the principal part that fell into the hands of the enemy were dispatched with the tomahawk, among whom was captain Porter. He was seized by the Indians, tied to a tree, and barbarously hacked in pieces. Lieutenant Simon Davis, and ensign Josiah Williams, of Williams' regiment, were wounded. Among the slain of other regiments, captains Farwell, Stoddard, Stevens and Kies are named, part of whom were in the fatal ambuscade. Captain Kies was a soldier under the unfortunate Lovewell, in the expedition against the Pigwackets, in 1724, and was there severely wounded, as has been related. In the retreat of Williams' shattered detachment, he received a mortal wound, was left resting against a tree and tomahawked. Like lieutenant Robbins in Lovewell's affair, he requested his friends to leave him a loaded musket, and when the Indians came up, the report of his gun was heard, and the next day he was found mangled at the place where he was left.

The loss of the enemy was differently estimated. Johnson stated it at six hundred killed and wounded; other accounts make it much less, and about thirty were made prisoners; among whom was the aid de camp of Dieskau. M. St. Pierre, commander of the Indians, was among the slain.

During the attack upon the camp, Johnson's Mohawks, afforded little aid; the greatest part retired, and waited the conflict at a safe distance. Before their march under Williams in the morning, some among them declared they intended not to engage in battle, but to be witnesses of the bravery of the English troops. Indeed, their conduct some time previous, had produced doubts of their attachment to the cause of the American colonies; Hendrick, their chief, was however considered as faithful.

The fall of Col. Williams was universally regretted by his country. By his long and faithful services in the defence of the western frontiers of Massachusetts, he had endeared himself to the people of that exposed part of

the province; and by them particularly his loss was considered as a great calamity. One of his intimate acquaintance bears testimony to his worth in the following language. "Humanity made a most striking trait in his character, and universal benevolence was his ruling passion: his memory will always be dear."\* By his will, which he wrote in Albany, a short time before his death, he made a liberal donation for a free school at Williamstown, called after his name, which was the foundation of the college at that place. He was the eldest son of Ephraim Williams, Esq. of Newton in Massachusetts, one of the early settlers of Stockbridge; lived a single life, and fell in his forty first year. Col. William's regiment consisting of ten companies, was raised principally in the county of Hampshire, then including Berkshire, in Massachusetts, and was composed of many of the most respectable people in that part of the country. The fatal attack on the detachment was often mentioned by our elderly people, by the name of the *bloody morning scout*, in which they lost many of their dearest friends.†

Col. Moses Titcomb was a valuable officer, who had seen service at the siege of Louisburg, in the rank of major, and was distinguished for his skill and bravery, and fell much regretted.

The baron Dieskau, the French commander, had served in the campaigns of the celebrated count Saxe, and possessed the science as well as the bravery of a general. But it must be confessed that his attack on general Johnson, with such a numerical inferiority, was ill judged, and bordered on rashness. His only claim to a victory rested wholly on a rapid charge with the bayonet, then not in use by the provincials, and before they had recovered from their trepidation. Had he chosen this mode of attack, probably he would have carried Johnson's rude

\* Col. John Worthington's letter.

† Col. William's remains, rest in obscurity where he fell, near the present road from Glens falls, to Caldwell, at the head of lake George. A large rock still bearing his name, is pointed out by the inhabitants, as marking the spot, but it is believed erroneously. The trustees of Williams' college, it is said, have more than once, proposed the erection of a monument to his memory, but the laudable measure has not been carried into effect. It is hoped they will no longer neglect their generous donor.

"When on Europe's red plains, heroes gallantly perish,  
Fame spreads her broad pinions, their exploits to tell;  
While the smooth chiseled bust, their resemblances cherish,  
And well sculptured urns mark the place where they fell."

breastwork, with a very small loss; and as a retreat from the position was difficult, a defeat might have been highly disastrous to the provincial army. But by opening his fire at the distance of one hundred and forty yards, just within the range of Johnson's marksmen, little effect ought to have been expected. In short, this mode of attack promised no chance of success, and the result was precisely such as might have been foreseen. Probably the Baron had embraced the opinion too common among regular officers, *that undisciplined men will not stand under a heavy fire*. If this be true when acting on open ground, it is not always so when posted behind works, even of the slightest kind. Here marksmen, without discipline, have often been found most formidable, and have achieved great exploits.

After the termination of the action, the Baron was liberal in his encomiums on the good conduct of the undisciplined provincials. "In the morning," said he, "your troops fought like good boys—about noon, like men, but in the afternoon like devils." The action of this day is rendered memorable, from the fact, that it was the first that occurred in the northern colonies, between *civilized troops* of any considerable *force*; all the previous battles had been fought between the English and Indians, sometimes aided by a *small* number of Frenchmen, or between the French and Indians.

After the defeat of the French army at the lake, they fell back to the place where they had deposited their packs, a short distance beyond the ground on which they had ambuscaded Col. Williams, and halted to refresh themselves, preparatory to their march for South bay. In the morning of the same day a reconnoitring party from fort Edward, had discovered on the road, several baggage waggons, which had been plundered and set on fire, probably by Dieskau's Indians. This being reported to Col. Blanchard, at fort Edward, he detached about two hundred men, under captains M'Ginnes and Fulsome, with orders to proceed to the spot. On arriving at the waggons, they found that the teams had been slaughtered, but no people were to be seen.\* While at this

\* This affair is generally confounded with a more destructive attack on a large number of teams under a convoy, in 1758, while Gen. Abercrombie commanded the English army. The two disasters happened near the same place.

place reports of cannon were heard towards lake George, and M'Ginnes and Fulsome pressed forward to ascertain the cause; and approaching French mountain, they discovered the tracks of Dieskau's troops in the road, and soon after a large party, setting incautiously in a ravine, near a pond, busily engaged in refreshing themselves at their packs. The two captains finding the enemy in force, deemed it hazardous to attack; but their men being eager for a conflict, they resolved to put their ardor to the test. Cautiously approaching the margin of the ravine, they gave the enemy a sudden fire. Completely surprised, they fled in confusion; but soon rallying they returned to the attack, and a sharp conflict ensued; and notwithstanding their great superiority, they at length gave way, and retreated through the woods towards Mouth-bay, leaving their packs and other baggage; but several were made prisoners. M'Ginnes and Fulsome lost twelve men, and the former was mortally wounded. He received a contusion in the head from a ball, which glanced from a tree near which he stood. Apprehending he might fall into the hands of the Indians, he called to an officer near, and charged him to protect him from their tomahawks; and, notwithstanding the severity of the wound, continued to command until the enemy were repulsed, then fainted, and was carried to Johnson's camp, where he died a few days after. He belonged to the New York forces, and Fulsome to those of New Hampshire.\* The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. On being informed of this second defeat of his troops Dieskau, then at Johnson's quarters, suffering under his wound, exclaimed, "Fortune le Guerre!" still preserving his equanimity and cheerfulness.

The defeat of the French at lake George, terminated offensive operations on the part of general Johnson, and after partially completing fort William Henry, on the bank of the lake, and garrisoning the place, the principal part of the troops were disbanded and returned home. The victory, though not followed by the conquest of Crown Point, was not without beneficial consequences. It gave confidence to the provincial troops, and without

\* It has been stated that major Robert Rogers, then a lieutenant in Blanchard's regiment, is famed as a partisan in the subsequent campaign, here made his debut in battle.

allowing for their numerical superiority, or the strength of their position, they considered themselves not inferior to French regulars in fair fight. In England, the success was much applauded, and general Johnson was honored with the dignity of Baronet, and the House of Commons voted him five thousand pounds as a further reward for his services.

During the operations of the army under general Johnson, another body of provincials, under governor Shirley, proceeded to Oswego, with the design of passing lake Ontario, and attacking the French post at Niagara; but the season being advanced when he arrived at that place, the expedition was given up. The same year a body of regulars and provincials, on their march to attack fort *Du Quesne*, were ambuscaded and totally defeated by a body of French and Indians, and the commander, general Braddock, killed.

In the month of November, this year, a remarkable earthquake occurred in the northern provinces, and produced great consternation among the people. In Boston, about one hundred chimnies were levelled with the roofs of the houses, and about fifteen hundred shattered or thrown down; clocks were stopped, and vanes of churches prostrated, or their spindles bent in various directions. At New Haven, the ground in many places, appeared to rise and fall like the waves of the sea, and many buildings were damaged. It was felt from the Chesapeake to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; its course from northwest to southeast, and it passed off to the eastward of the West India islands, where the sea subsided and left vessels and fish dry, and on its return rose about six feet above its usual level. The succeeding winter was uncommonly mild, and the rivers were scarcely closed with ice.\*

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

AFTER the defeat of Dieskau, as has been related in the last chapter, the French army returned down South bay, to Ticonderoga, and commenced a strong fortress at that place, preparatory to their operations the next

\* Holmes' Annals, Vol. ii, p. 216.

year, when they anticipated another attempt of the English colonies against both that post and Crown Point.

Though hostilities had continued through 1755, war was not formally declared between England and France, until the fore part of the year 1756. Several expeditions were now contemplated by the English government; one against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to consist of ten thousand men, but only about six thousand were raised in the colonies for this service, and it was late in the season when the army arrived at lake George, under major general Winslow, a provincial commander. But a body of regular troops arrived from England, the latter part of the summer, with lord Loudon, who was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in the English provinces, and major general Abercrombie, second in command, advanced to Albany and fort Edward, with a considerable regular force.

Under these auspicious appearances, the people on the northern frontiers of the colonies, flattered themselves with an exemption from further depredations of the Indians, but they were again disappointed. In the early part of the year, the enemy began to hover about the exterior settlements, and urgent petitions from the exposed people, poured in to the governments of the provinces for protecting forces.

At forts Dummer and Massachusetts were already considerable garrisons, and small forces were posted by Massachusetts, at Charlestown and on the Ashuelot, in New Hampshire, as well as at Northfield, Greenfield, Deerfield, and the Massachusetts line of forts. A small work was then at Williamstown, and a block house at west Hoosack, supposed to be within the limits of New York, though the divisional line was then unsettled. Connecticut still furnished a few troops for the defence of Pittsfield, Stockbridge, and other places in that quarter.

The settlers at *Huntstown* this year, built a small fortification at that place, at their own expence, and petitioned the government of the province for a guard; and in July, Col. Williams was ordered to put in pay a few of the inhabitants of that place. Considerable improvements had been made in the town prior to the war: but in the summer of 1755. the people, exposed to the enemy, left



their plantation, and did not return to them until the ensuing winter.

The usual incursions of the Indians, commenced on the frontiers of New Hampshire in the month of June, 1766. Josiah Foster and family were captured at Winchester; and soon after lieutenant Moses Willard and his son were wounded near the fort at Charlestown. On the twelfth of August a party of Indians attacked five men at labor at a place called the *Country farms*, in the northerly part of Greenfield. The Indians had secreted themselves on an adjacent eminence, and observed the people deposit their arms before they commenced their labor, and by a cautious approach, placed themselves between them and the men; and rushing furiously on, gave their fire, but it proved harmless. Destitute of the means of defence, the people fled in different directions; Shubal Atherton leaped into a ravine, among thick brush, where he was discovered, shot and scalped; Benjamin Hastings and John Graves dashing through Green river, outstripped the Indians, and escaped; but Daniel Graves and Nathaniel Brooks were captured. The former being in years, and unable to travel with the speed of the Indians, was killed a small distance from the place of capture; Brooks was carried off, and never returned; whether he suffered the fate of his fellow prisoner, is not known. A party of people from Greenfield village, hurried on to the spot, and followed the trail of the enemy some distance, and were soon joined by major Williams with a party from Deerfield, but the enemy eluded their pursuers.

On the twentieth of the same month Zebediah Stebins and Reuben Wright, returning on horseback, from their labor in Northfield, met a party of Indians in the road, who fired and wounded Wright; the two men then retired some distance, and the Indians pressing on, Stebins resolutely turned upon them, received another fire, and returning his own, wounded one of the Indians, which checked their pursuit, and enabled both to effect their escape.

While the enemy were thus harrassing the frontiers on Connecticut river, other parties were active in the vicinity of fort Massachusetts. On the eleventh of June, Benjamin King and William Meach, returning from a recon-

noisance down Hoosac river, fell into an ambuscade, and were killed, about three quarters of a mile from the fort. Capt. Wyman then commanding, immediately detached ensign Barnard with a party to the spot, but the Indians had fled. Eight days after, a detachment of one hundred and sixty men, under major Thaxter, from Winslow's army on their march to fort Massachusetts, attacked a party of the enemy, who fled after a short skirmish. On the twenty sixth of the same month, Lieut. Grant, with thirteen men from the same army, were surprized on Hoosac river, about thirteen miles below fort Massachusetts, eight killed on the spot, and the remainder supposed to be captured. The next day ensign Barnard was sent with a small party to reconnoitre the ground, and approaching the place where the dead bodies lay in the road, he discovered a large body of Indians, in ambuscade, ready to pounce upon him; on which he cautiously withdrew, and made good his retreat to the fort. On receiving information of the disaster of Grant's party, Winslow detached captain Butterfield with a strong body from Half-moon, who arrived on the ground and buried the slain.

On the eleventh of July, Capt. Elisha Chapin, sergeant Chidester and his son James, being out a small distance from the block house, at West Hoosac, in search of Cows, were suddenly fired upon by a party of Indians, and the two latter killed on the spot. The captain was seized, carried off about sixty rods, and barbarously murdered. The Indians then pressed on and opened their fire upon the block house, killed the cattle in the vicinity, and soon after, retreated into the woods. Captain Chapin commanded fort Massachusetts in 1754, and had acquired the reputation of a brave officer.

No other attacks are noted in this quarter during the year; but the Indians still infested the woods, and scouts were continually out, and the inhabitants were kept in a state of alarm, and performed their labor in the field, with hazard.

In consequence of many unforeseen difficulties, the army under general Winslow, amounting to nearly six thousand men, advanced no further than the south end of lake George, where a camp was strongly fortified on Johnson's late battle ground, and fort William Henry

completed; but the French were more active. The marquis de Montcalm, who succeeded baron Dieskau, with about four thousand men, advancing up the St. Lawrence, crossed lake Ontario, besieged and took Oswego. The gallant repulse by Col. Bradstreet, of a strong party of the enemy, who attacked a division of batteaux on Onondaga river, was the only cheering event that occurred in the course of this campaign.

During the summer of this year, a plan was projected for building a strong fort on the highlands, between the sources of Black river, and Otter creek, in the present state of Vermont. A post at that place was supposed to be important, not only to cut off one of the principal debouches of the enemy's parties from lake Champlain, but to facilitate operations on the left of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and also to afford a convenient station for scouting parties from Connecticut river. The route had not escaped the notice of lord Loudon, the commander in chief, and he proposed to the provincial officers, that it might be critically examined, and the practicability of a road from the Connecticut, reported to him. Col. Israel Williams was applied to for information on the subject, and he communicated to his Lordship a topographical sketch and description of the country compiled from ample materials he had obtained from various reports of officers, who had traversed the country, at the head of scouting parties.

The government of Massachusetts had previously taken measures for examining the same route, with a view of constructing a road for facilitating military operations in that quarter. In the house of Representatives the following vote was passed, March 10th, 1756, and approved by the governor and council: "Whereas it is of great importance that a thorough knowledge be had of the distance and practicability of a communication between number four on Connecticut river and Crown Point; and that the course down Otter creek to lake Champlain, should be known. Therefore voted, that his Excellency the Governor be, and he is hereby desired as soon as may be, to appoint fourteen men upon this service. Seven of them to go from said Number four, the directest course to Crown Point, to measure the distance and gain what knowledge they can of the country. And the other

seven to go from said Number four, to Otter Creek aforesaid, and down said creek to lake Champlain; observing the true course of said creek—its depth of water—what falls there are in it; and also the nature of the soil on each side thereof, and what growth of woods are near it. Each party of said men to keep a journal of their proceedings and observations, and lay the same, on their return, before this court. They to observe all such directions as they may receive from his excellency. One man in each party to be a skilful surveyor: And the persons employed, shall have a reasonable allowance made them by the court for their services.”

Col. Israel Williams was directed by the governor to carry the order into effect, and to give such further instructions as might be necessary for accomplishing the business. But as the country was then infested with the Indians, the attempt was deemed hazardous, and was but partially executed. The surveys were made only to the height of land, and the project for building a fort at so advanced a station, was finally abandoned.

During the campaign of 1755, and 1756, on the Hudson and lake George, the frontiers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts had received no essential relief, from the operations of the army; but in the year 1757, though the campaign proved disastrous, the incursions of the Indians on the Connecticut, were less frequent. The main army under lord Loudon, was employed on an expedition against Louisburg, while a smaller force was left on the Hudson and lake George, under major general Webb, for the protection of the frontiers of New York.

The government of Massachusetts, early in the year, resolved that the usual forces should be raised for the protection of the frontiers of the province, both for scouting, and garrisons, at the several frontier posts. In addition to the garrison troops, one hundred men were employed on the eastern frontier, and forty five, under a captain and lieutenant, on the west side of Connecticut river, to range the woods north of Falltown; and the commissary general was ordered to provide a sufficient number of snow shoes, and mocasons for the troops on this service. Lord Loudon, having early in the spring, ordered two hundred men, under Lieut. Col. Goffe,

New Hampshire, to take post at Charlestown, Massachusetts was relieved from the expence of troops at that post; and in April, colonel Nathan Whiting was sent with five hundred Connecticut troops, to relieve Goffe, who was ordered to join general Webb at fort Edward.

A short time prior to the arrival of Goffe's forces at Charlestown, a body of French and Indians attacked the mills at that place, and took Sampson Colefax, David Farnsworth and Thomas Adams. The inhabitants rallying, advanced towards the place, but finding the enemy in force, retired without engaging. The enemy burnt the mills and retreated, and meeting Thomas Robbins and Asa Spafford, returning from a hunting excursion, made them prisoners, and conveyed them to Canada. The arrival of Col. Whiting's forces, put an end to incursions at that place during the remainder of the summer. On the Massachusetts cordon, the Indians were occasionally seen in small parties, and a man was wounded near Rice's fort in Charlemont, in the early part of the year.

The army under lord Loudon, destined against Louisburg, sailed from New York, and landed at Halifax, where it was joined by a fleet under admiral Holbourne, and a land force of five thousand men, under George Viscount Howe; the whole now amounting to about twelve thousand men. While preparing to sail from that port, a French fleet with a reinforcement of troops, arrived at Louisburg, Loudon now abandoned his contemplated attack, and returned to New York on the thirty first of August.

During the absence of Loudon's army, the active Montcalm, concentrated his forces at Ticonderoga, consisting of regulars, Canadians and Indians, and passing up lake George, invested fort William Henry, with eleven thousand five hundred men. General Webb, at this time lay at fort Edward, with the main army, consisting of between four and five thousand; and colonel Monroe, a British officer, was intrusted with the command at lake George, his force consisting of two thousand two hundred regulars and provincials; four hundred and forty nine of whom were posted in fort William Henry, and the remainder in a fortified camp, on the eminence where fort George was subsequently built. After several skirmishes

in the vicinity of the fort, Montcalm opened his batteries, which were erected on the ground now covered by the village of Caldwell; his principal camp being north of a small creek crossing the village, north of the present court house; the ground then partially covered with woods. Two divisions of his army, under M. Levi, and the chevalier la Corne, took post in the woods south of Monroe's position, to cut off the communication with fort Edward; and an advanced party lay on the road near an extensive morass, about five miles, towards that fort. The siege which continued from the third to the ninth of August, was vigorously pressed, and Monroe defended his fort and fortified camp with spirit; but having burst many of his guns and mortars, and expended most of his ammunition, he was compelled to surrender. A capitulation was signed on the ninth; by which the troops were allowed to retain their arms, and were to be escorted to fort Edward.

Soon after the capitulation was signed, a detachment of the French army took possession of Monroe's works. About the same time the Indians rushed over the parapets, and began to plunder such small articles as they could seize with impunity, and at length commenced their depredations on the officer's baggage. To prevent the Indians from becoming intoxicated, the whole of the remaining liquor, both in the fort and camp was stove. Col. Monroe perceiving their conduct, gave orders for marching about midnight, and at the time assigned the troops were drawn up and put in motion; but being informed that a large body of the savages were on the road, for the purpose of intercepting the march he gave orders for the troops to return to camp, where they continued without shelter until next morning; the Indians in the mean time hovering about the lines, indicating their savage designs.

Early the next morning, the troops were ordered to prepare for the march; but it was observed that the Indians indicated more ferocity than in the preceding night, each carrying a tomahawk, or other weapon of death, in his hand; and they continued to plunder the baggage of the officers. Col. Monroe complained of a breach of the articles of capitulation, but to no effect. He was told by the French officers, that the savages might be appeased

by giving up the private property of the troops; to which he consented, and the plan was generally adopted. But the blood thirsty tigers were not so easily glutted. They soon seized the officer's hats, guns and swords, and violently forced off their clothing, in some instances, not sparing even their shirts, and this was soon followed by a scene which beggars description. They rushed upon the sick and wounded, whom they butchered and scalped, in the presence of the troops; the negroes, mulattoes and friend Indians were next dragged from the ranks, and shared the same fate; one of the latter they burnt to death. At length, with great difficulty, the troops left the intrenched camp, but without the promised escort, and had barely cleared it, when the rear of the column was attacked, and many killed and scalped, without discrimination. Monroe then brought the troops to a halt, but in great confusion: as soon as the men in front perceived the danger in the rear, they pressed forward until they reached a French guard at la Corne's camp, followed by the savages, who continued their murders by stabbing, tomahawking and scalping all within their power. The women accompanying the troops, unable to resist, were seized, their throats cut, their bodies ripped open, and their bowels torn out and thrown in their faces; the children were taken by the heels and their brains dashed out against rocks and trees; and it is stated that many of the savages drank the hearts blood of their victims, as it flowed reeking from the horrid wounds.\*

Protection was now demanded from the French guard, but it was refused, and the unfortunate troops were told that they must scatter in the woods, and seek their own safety. Finding no other alternative, they rushed desperately through the savages, attempting to escape by flight, but being pursued, many were tomahawked, while others were so fortunate as to outstrip their pursuers, and to reach fort Edward, but in a horrible plight, after secreting themselves through the following night, in the thick woods and swamps, stripped even to nudity. Col. Monroe, and several of his officers and men, were

\* The journal of a French officer, who served under Montcalm, in the campaign of 1757, taken on board a ship in the West Indies, states, that a feast was made by some of the Indians who were at the capture of fort William Henry, at which they sacrificed some of the English prisoners, broiled their flesh, and forced the other prisoners to eat it.—Hutchinson's History, Vol. i. p. 315.

carried back to the French camp, where they remained until an escort was furnished them to fort Edward.

During these horrid transactions, the French troops remained idle spectators of the scene. La Corne who had great influence among the savages, probably foreseeing the massacre, immediately after the capitulation was signed, sent for Col. Frye, commanding the Massachusetts' regiment, and informed him, that he well remembered the humanity he had shewn to his countrymen in Nova Scotia; that he should embrace the present opportunity to express his gratitude, and reward his humanity; and that neither he, nor any of the Massachusetts troops, should receive insult or injury from the Indians. But during the whole transaction, he kept at a distance, nor did he send a party to afford the promised protection, or use his influence to moderate the vengeance of the Indians.\*

On receiving intelligence of the capitulation, general Webb ordered five hundred men to meet the French escort, and conduct the captured troops into his camp; but to his surprise, instead of meeting the escort, the captives were discovered flying through the woods singly or in small parties, in the greatest distress and consternation; many exhibiting the horrid cuts of the knife and tomahawk, and some in a state of delirium, and nearly exhausted.

The individual exploits of several of the captives may not be uninteresting. In the confusion consequent upon the attack upon the defenceless troops, an Indian chief seized colonel Frye, plundered and stripped him of his clothes even to his shirt, and then led him into the woods in a direction and manner which left no doubt as to the design of the ferocious chief. Arriving at a secluded spot where the colonel expected to meet his fate, he determined to make one effort for his life, and roused by desperation, with no other arms than those nature gave him, he sprang upon the savage, overpowered and killed him on the spot, and fleeing rapidly into a thick wood, he eluded the search of the other Indians. After wandering in various directions for several days, subsisting wholly on whortleberries, he reached fort Edward and joined his suffering companions.†

\* William's History of Vermont, 2d. Vol.

† Colonel Frye was a general officer in the early part of the war of the revolution.



Captain John Burk, of Frye's regiment, was seized, and after a violent struggle, stripped of the whole of his clothes, and afterwards escaped into the woods. Straying in various directions, he was overtaken by darkness in the margin of a morass, and unable to direct his course, lay down in the thick grass and passed the night, covered only by the damp vapor of the swamp. The next day he renewed his march, and fortunately arrived safely at fort Edward.

At the time colonel Munroe consented to the delivery of the private baggage to the Indians, as has been related, lieutenant Selah Barnard, another of Frye's officers, having with him a small trunk containing his effects, resolutely determined not to part with it, unless by force. The trunk soon attracted the attention of the savages, and two stout fellows approaching to seize it, the lieutenant springing upon it, threatened them with instant death if they persisted in their design, and for some time held the trunk from their grasp. At length others coming up, he was seized by each arm by two savages, plundered, and led off, as he supposed, to be butchered. Being athletic, and remarkably nervous in his arms, rousing his whole strength, he sent them in different directions, and by a rapid flight rejoined his fellow sufferers. The savages returned and took possession of the trunk, and submitted to his escape; and he reached fort Edward without further misfortune.

Captain Jonathan Carver, of the same regiment, after being stripped of his clothes, broke from the savages and regained a body of his companions. In attempting afterwards to escape through the woods, he was again seized, and led off towards a swamp by two Indians; an English gentleman happening to pass by, one of the Indians relinquished his hold and seizing the flying gentleman, who proving too strong, threw him upon the ground, on which the other Indian flew to the assistance of his comrade, and the captain seizing the opportunity, escaped, and after two or three days arrived at fort Edward.

Soon after this disgraceful scene of carnage and barbarity, general Webb detached major Putnam with a corps of rangers, to watch the movements of Montcalm. He arrived at the lake just after the French had embarked on their return to Ticonderoga, and a scene of horror

was presented along the road and adjacent woods. "Dead bodies weltering in blood were every where seen, violated with all the wanton mutilations of savage ingenuity. More than an hundred women, inhumanly stabbed and butchered, lay naked on the ground, with their bowels torn out and still weltering in their gore. In some, their throats were cut, and in others their brains were oozing out where the tomahawk had cleaved their heads; and in others, the hair and scalp had been torn off, and nothing was to be seen but the bloody skull. Devastation, barbarity and horror every where appeared, and presented a spectacle too diabolical and awful to be endured or described."\*

The number that fell in the massacre, has not been accurately ascertained. Dr. Belknap says the New Hampshire regiment lost eighty out of two hundred, but these being in the rear suffered more severely than other regiments. Captain Carver estimates the whole loss at fifteen hundred; but this is evidently an exaggeration. In a letter from a gentleman in Albany, inserted in the *London Magazine* for 1757, the number is much diminished. From a comparison of all the accounts that have reached us, it is probable that the whole number massacred and carried off by the savages was less than three hundred. And for the honor of His *Most Christian* Majesty's troops, it is hoped that even this exceeds the real number of the sufferers.

The capture of the posts at lake George, and the strength of Montcalm's army, threw the northern provinces into consternation, and the loss of fort Edward was expected to follow; and that Montcalm would penetrate to Albany, if not to other points in the interior. On the first landing of the French army at fort William Henry, Gen. Webb called on the governments of New York and Massachusetts, for reinforcements of militia, and those of New York were soon in motion. Ruggle's and Chandler's regiments, in the county of Worcester, and Williams' and Worthington's in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, commenced their march for fort Edward; but previous to their arrival, Montcalm had returned down lake George, to his strong post at Ticonderoga. In the mean time governor Pownell of Massachusetts,

\* Humphrey's *Life of Putnam*—Williams' *Vermont*—*London Magazine* for 1757.

ordered all the cavalry and a fourth part of the remaining militia of the province, excepting from York, Dukes county and Nantucket, to march to Springfield, on Connecticut river, under sir William Pepperell, as Lieut. Gen. of the province. Orders were also given for establishing a magazine at that place, and should the enemy advance upon the frontiers, in force, Pepperell was to order "*the wheels to be struck off from all waggons, west of Connecticut river—to drive off the horses, and to bring off all provisions which could be moved, and to destroy the remainder.*"

During this alarm, the garrisons of fort Massachusetts and West Hoosac were augmented to one hundred men each, and the small posts at Stockbridge, Pittsfield, Williamstown and Charlemont, received accessions of men.

The garrison at Charlestown, under Col. Whiting, apprehensive of an attack from Montcalm, was kept on the alert, and scouts ranged the woods as far as lake Champlain, and made close approaches to the French headquarters. In one of these excursions, Lieut. Pierce lay some time in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, while the French were firing their cannon, and making demonstrations of joy at the capture of fort William Henry. On their return, they discovered hanging in the woods near one of the routes of the enemy, sixty pair of snow shoes which they destroyed or brought into Charlestown.

The latter end of August, major Thomas Tash arrived at Charlestown, with two hundred and fifty New Hampshire forces, who had been sent to that place by Gov. Wentworth, by the orders of Gen. Webb; and colonel Whiting joined the main army at fort Edward, with the forces under his command, by the route of Charlemont and fort Massachusetts.

The French having destroyed fort William Henry, and withdrawn to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and part of their army dismissed, the alarm subsided; and Massachusetts discharged the extra forces at the frontier posts, as well as the militia ordered to Springfield, and the exterior forts were left with their usual garrisons, during the following winter.

Though relieved from apprehensions of a formidable invasion, the prospects of the colonies were still gloomy. Three armies in as many successive years, had been

raised for the reduction of the French posts on the lakes, in the province of New York ; but nothing had been effected for the relief of the country. Two important posts had been lost, many people killed and captured and much property destroyed. When these distresses were to end, no one could predict with any certainty. . At this time says Dr. Belknap, " the enemy's country was filled with prisoners and scalps, private plunder and public stores and provisions, which our people, as beasts of burden, had conveyed to them. These reflections were the dismal entertainment of the winter. The next spring called for fresh exertions ; and happily for America, the British ministry had been changed, and the direction of the war, in answer to the united voice of the people of England, was put into the hands of that decisive statesman, WILLIAM PITT."\*

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## CHAPTER XIX.

TO REPAIR the losses and disappointments of the campaign of 1757, the British government determined to employ a formidable force, to operate by sea and land, against the French in America the next year. The governors of the northern provinces were required to raise " as large bodies of men within their respective provinces as the number of inhabitants might allow." But the misfortunes of the preceding years, had nearly discouraged the people and paralyzed further efforts.

The government of Massachusetts, however, voted seven thousand men ; Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand, and the troops were ready for service early in the season. About the first of May, admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax with a fleet, and twelve thousand land forces, under the command of general Jeffery Amherst, destined to attack Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. This roused the spirits of the colonists, and the conquest of the French posts was anticipated with some confidence.

The incursions of the Indians on the frontiers this year, were not very frequent, but they commenced early in the

\* History of New Hampshire, Vol. ii. p. 300.

season. On the twentieth of March, they made an inroad into Colrain, wounded John Morrison and John Henry ; burnt a barn, and killed several cattle near north river in that town.

In the following month, colonel Israel Williams received orders from governor Pownall, to post additional forces at Colrain and Charlemont. Capt. Wyman was still intrusted with the command of fort Massachusetts ; a sergeant's party garrisoned the post at West Hoosac, and small parties of Connecticut troops were again stationed at Stockbridge and Pittsfield. On the northern frontiers of the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, small garrisons were posted as follows : At Northfield, a sergeant and ten men ; Falltown, one sergeant and ten men at Burk's, and a sergeant and eight men at Sheldon's garrisons ; Colrain, one sergeant and nine men at Morrison's, and the same number at the south fort ; Charlemont, a sergeant and nine men at Hawks', a corporal and seven men at Rice's, and a sergeant and eleven men at Taylor's forts. At Greenfield, a sergeant and fifteen men, and the same number at Deerfield ; and a sergeant and nine men at Huntstown. These posts were intrusted to the command of captain John Catlin, of Deerfield ; and the usual scouts were kept up in the neighboring woods. The posts within the province of New Hampshire were garrisoned by troops from the army or militia from that province.

In the month of September, major Bellows discovered about two hundred Indians passing Connecticut river above Brattleborough, shaping their course towards Ashuelot, and soon after a party appeared at Hinsdale, and killed captain Moore and his son, took the remainder of his family, and burnt his house. Another party of the enemy appeared at Charlestown, killed Asahel Stebbins, took his wife, and Isaac Parker a soldier, and many cattle feeding in the adjacent woods were slaughtered by the enemy.

On the frontiers of New York, the operations of the army were disastrous. Lord Loudon having returned to England, the command devolved on general Abercrombie, who assembled his troops in the month of June at the south end of lake George, amounting to nearly sixteen thousand regulars and provincials, destined to attack

Ticonderoga; and on the sixth of July, the army embarked on board of boats and rafts on lake George, and the next morning landed at what is since called *Howe's bay*, on the west side of the outlet of the lake near which Montcalm had an advanced post of about five hundred men, covered by a log breastwork. About seven thousand of Abercrombie's forces were regular troops, and furnished with a formidable train of artillery and every requisite for a siege.

The landing was effected without opposition, and the troops commenced their march for the mills on lake George outlet about two miles distant, in four columns; the two centre composed of regulars, and the flank columns of provincials. Major Rogers' corps of rangers preceded the left column, and by a detour gained some high grounds not far from the mills. On the approach of the columns, the French advanced party set fire to their camp and breastwork, and fled into the woods towards the mills, followed by Abercrombie's main body. The woods proving thick, the English troops became bewildered and fell into some disorder. At this moment the retreating French came about, and commenced an attack on the left column. Lord Howe, then at the head of the right centre column, pressing forward with major Putnam's rangers, received the fire of the enemy and immediately fell. Putnam continued to press on, and Rogers and some provincial corps, at the same time attacked the enemy in the rear, and they broke, fell into confusion, and about one hundred and forty eight, including five officers, were captured. The whole of the English army then fell back to the landing and bivouaced through the night. The fall of lord Howe, who was the soul of the expedition, was much regretted, and greatly dispirited the army.

In the forenoon of the next day, colonel Bradstreet, with a detachment of light troops, gained possession of the ground at the mills without opposition, and in the course of the day was joined by the whole army, which encamped within about a mile of Montcalm's advanced works, consisting of an unfinished breastwork, since called the *French lines*, extending across a ridge of land, in advance of his main fort, on Ticonderoga point. In front of this breastwork, for some distance, trees were felled with their branches pointing outward, and sharpened so

as to form an almost impenetrable abbatis, defended by about four thousand troops, under Montcalm.

Learning from the prisoners that a reinforcement of French troops were hourly expected from Canada, Abercrombie was disposed to carry the lines, by an assault with musketry. Major Rogers, with his corps of rangers was detached with the engineer, to the high grounds south of Montcalm's works to reconnoitre the position. On his return, the engineer reported it as his opinion, that the enemy's lines might be carried without great loss, and the army was ordered to be in readiness to attack the next morning. At ten o'clock on the eighth of July, the troops advanced to the bloody work, and the fire opened on both sides with spirit. The British regulars continued to advance under a shower of shot, until they were entangled with the abbatis, which they attempted to cut away with their broad swords; but this was found to be impossible. Still pressing on, part of the troops penetrated through the abbatis, and a few mounted the breastwork, and officers and men fell by hundreds. But after the most gallant efforts, and reiterated attempts, the whole were driven back with great loss. The contest continued about four hours, and general Abercrombie seeing no prospect of carrying the breastwork, ordered a retreat to the high grounds about the mills, and soon after to the landing, at the north end of lake George. The next day the army re-embarked and returned to its former camp, at the south end of the lake.\*

The regular corps in this rash attack, fought with the most obstinate resolution, and every regiment suffered severely, but the greatest loss fell on lord John Murray's highland regiment, (the forty second,) commanded by lieutenant colonel Grant. One half of the privates and twenty nine officers fell on the spot or were desperately wounded. The provincials were more or less engaged, generally in a second line, and often exposed to a hot fire; and they exhibited a firmness much beyond what is common with undisciplined troops. The French, covered by

\* The loss on the part of the English was stated by general Abercrombie as follows: Regulars killed, four hundred and sixty four; do. missing, twenty nine; do. wounded, one thousand one hundred and seventeen. Total, one thousand six hundred and ten. Provincials killed, eighty seven; do. missing, eight; do. wounded, two hundred and thirty nine. Total, three hundred and thirty four.--Grand total, one thousand nine hundred and forty four.

the breastwork, from eight to nine feet high, suffered but a comparatively small loss ; it is stated at twelve officers and ninety two privates killed, and two hundred and forty eight wounded.

Not long after the return of the army to the south end of lake George, Col. Bradstreet was detached to Oswego, with about three thousand men, and crossing lake Ontario, besieged and captured fort Frontenac. In the mean time, Abercrombie fortified his camp at the lake by a line of intrenchments, and remained on the defensive ; and a few affairs between the enemy's parties and Putnam's and Roger's rangers, and the loss of a number of baggage waggons, with their convoy, between the present village of Sandy Hill and *Halfway Brook* ; closed the campaign in that quarter.

In the month of July, this year, Louisburg, surrendered to a British force under general Amherst and admiral Boscawen, and the French garrison of three thousand one hundred men, under the chevalier de Drucourt, submitted prisoners of war ; and the whole island of Cape Breton fell into the hands of the English.

In the month of November, an army under general Forbes, after a tedious march over the mountains, arrived in the vicinity of fort du Quesne on the Ohio, on which the French abandoned the place, and escaped in boats down the river. The place was taken possession of by the English, and the name changed to *fort Pitt*.

The defeat of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and his inactivity during the remainder of the season, once more sunk the spirits of the northern colonies to the lowest ebb, and the frontier settlements were under great apprehensions from the Indians. Massachusetts continued its establishment of men at the exterior posts, and kept up the scouting service, with but feeble hopes of security against an enemy so repeatedly flushed with victory. Though Abercrombie had met with a severe repulse before the lines at Ticonderoga, his army was still much superior to that of the enemy ; and being amply furnished with artillery and munitions for a siege, no satisfactory reasons could be assigned for his retreat to the south end of lake George ; nor for his inactivity the remainder of the campaign. Most of the provincial officers in the army, were highly disgusted with his conduct ; and in their



letters to their friends, they vented their feelings with great freedom—Nor were they wholly silent in camp. But the clamour of the public was loud, and the general was often mentioned with contempt and ridicule. The success of Amherst and Forbes, however, in some measure dissipated the gloom; and the arrival of the former at Boston, with six regiments of veteran British troops, who immediately after the surrender of Louisburg, embarked for that post, and once more roused the depressed spirits of the country.

General Amherst was not inactive. Immediately after his arrival at Boston, he pressed on with his troops through the country for Albany, and took the command of the army in that quarter; but the season being too far advanced for offensive operations, a plan was formed for an active campaign the next year. Soon after Amherst's arrival, Abercrombie left the army, and sailed for England.

At the commencement of 1759, the usual establishments were voted for the frontiers, by the government of Massachusetts, and scouting parties were early on the march. But as an expedition was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by the active Amherst, while another was to be undertaken against Quebec, by general James Wolf,\* who had gallantly distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg; strong hopes were entertained, that the frontiers would be relieved from the depredations of the Indians, in the course of the campaign.

During the preceding winter, Charlestown had been garrisoned by one hundred regular troops of the army, under captain Cruckshanks; and to enable this force to join the army on the frontier of New York, general Amherst applied to the governor of Massachusetts, to raise an equal number of provincials to garrison that station; and the men were promptly raised from Col. Israel Williams' regiment, in the county of Hampshire, and placed under captain Elijah Smith; and on the fourth of May,

\* General Wolf was a young officer of great spirit and military ardour, and by some of the British ministry, it was believed that his temerity unfitted him for the command of an army. When king George the 2d, proposed placing him at the head of the expedition against Quebec, the duke of Newcastle, begged his majesty to consider that the man was actually mad. "If he be mad, so much the better," answered the king, "I hope then he will bite some of my generals."—*Military Mentor*, Vol. i. p. 226.

they were ordered to Charlestown, and captain Cruckshanks soon after joined the army on the Hudson.

On the twenty first of March, the Indians again appeared at Colrain, and captured John M'Cown, and his wife; and the latter was murdered on the second day's march. A party of militia under major Hawley of Northampton marched for the place, but the enemy were soon at a safe distance, and the troops proceeded no further than Greenfield.

The army destined to attack Ticonderoga, assembled at Albany about the first of June, under Gen. Amherst; and on the twenty second of July he arrived before Ticonderoga, and invested it with twelve thousand men, provincials and regulars. The enemy immediately abandoned their advanced lines, which had proved so fatal to Abercrombie's army, the preceding year, and retired within their main work.

Amherst pressed the siege as vigorously as possible, and in a short time, was ready to open his batteries. But M. de Bourlemaque, the French commander, finding he had to oppose a general of *skill* as well as courage, partially dismantled his fort, blew up some of the bastions, and, leaving most of his heavy artillery, retired down the lake to Crown Point, and Amherst took possession of the place. A few days after, the French evacuated Crown Point, and retired to their posts at the northern extremity of lake Champlain, and Amherst immediately occupied the abandoned post, and commenced additional works.

The capture of these important posts, immediately relieved the frontiers of New England, from incursions from the western quarter; and a general joy spread through the long distressed colonies. Crown Point had been in the possession of the French for nearly thirty years, and from that place predatory parties had issued, and involved the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in blood and slaughter; and numerous were the prisoners who had there suffered the disgraceful and cruel treatment of the savages. One other post from which the colonies of New Hampshire and Massachusetts had suffered similar cruelties, still remained in the hands of the enemy. This was the village of St. Francis, situated at the mouth of the river of that name, between Montreal and Quebec. From its easy communi-

cation with the upper part of Connecticut river, this place had long been a focus of murder and devastation, and many a captive had there suffered barbarities intolerable, and the place was loaded with the plunder of the English colonies. General Amherst now resolved to put an end to these barbarities, by destroying the place. Major Rogers, who had so ably and frequently distinguished himself as a partisan, during the war, was selected for the arduous service, with his hardy rangers, and a detachment of regular troops; and he received the following orders from the commander in chief:

*Camp at Crown Point, Sept. 13, 1759.*

“ You will this night set out with the detachment as ordered yesterday, viz. of two hundred men, which you will take under your command, and proceed to Missisquoi bay, from whence you will march and attack the enemy’s settlements on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, in such a manner as you shall judge most effectual to disgrace the enemy, and for the success and honor of his Majesty’s Arms.

“ Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy’s Indian scoundrels on every occasion, where they had an opportunity of shewing their infamous cruelties on the King’s subjects, which they have done without mercy. Take your revenge, but do not forget that though these villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are killed or hurt.

“ When you have executed your intended service, you will return with your detachment to camp, or join me wherever the army may be. Your’s, &c.

To Major Rogers.

JEFF. AMHERST.

To prevent a discovery of the expedition, it was kept profoundly secret from the army; and in the preceding day’s orders, Rogers had been destined to the command of a party to march in a different direction, while he had private orders to proceed directly to St. Francis.

In pursuance of his orders, major Rogers left Crown Point in the evening, on board of whale boats, and proceeded down the lake, on his adventurous expedition. The distance to Missisquoi bay was not far short of one hundred miles, and as parties of the enemy were often on the lake, the greatest circumspection was required to

avoid a discovery. The fifth day after his departure, being encamped on the east shore, a keg of gun powder accidentally took fire, and wounded captain Williams, and several men, whom Rogers sent back, with part of the detachment to Crown Point, which reduced his number to one hundred and forty two, including officers. Pursuing his voyage, Rogers arrived at Missisque bay on the twentieth, without discovery, where he secreted his boats, and provisions sufficient for his men on their return, under the bank of a creek, overhung with brush, and left two trusty Indians to watch them, with orders, should the boats be discovered by the enemy, to follow his trail, and give him the information.

The country between the bay and St. Francis village, was covered with woods, and intersected by swamps and rivulets; but notwithstanding these impediments, Rogers pressed his march with considerable expedition. The second day after quitting the boats, the two Indians, who had been left to watch them, came up with Rogers, and informed him, that four hundred French and Indians had discovered and taken possession of the boats, and that two hundred were in rapid pursuit on his trail. The intelligence was embarrassing, and the circumstances of the detachment critical. But fertile in resources, Rogers devised means to overcome his difficulties, and to prosecute his expedition. Lieut. M'Mullen and ten men were detached, with orders to proceed through the woods to Crown Point, to inform general Amherst of the misfortune; and to request him to forward provisions from Charlestown, up the Connecticut, to the mouth of *Great Ammonoosuc* river, near Coos intervals, by which route Rogers proposed to return, after the destruction of the Indian village, as ordered. He then renewed his march, resolving to outstrip his pursuers; but was much retarded by the sunken nature of the country, which in many places was covered with water mid-leg deep, and often a spruce bog, in which it became necessary to prepare a sort of hammock, from the boughs of trees, to enable the men to repose at night; and this after a hard day's march, continued from early dawn until darkness commenced.

The tenth day after leaving the bay, Rogers struck St. Francis river, about fifteen miles above the village, and with some difficulty forded it, where the water was five

feet, and running in a rapid current. The ground now being firm, the march was pressed with celerity, and on the fourth of October, at eight in the evening, Rogers came within sight of the village, halted, and directed his men to refresh themselves, while he with Lieut Turner and ensign Avery, reconnoitred the place. The Indians were found in a high *frolic* or *dance*, and appeared to entertain no apprehensions of an enemy in the vicinity. Returning to his men about two o'clock in the morning, Rogers marched them within five hundred yards of the village, lightened them of their packs, and prepared for the attack. It was now about three o'clock, and an hour after, the Indians broke up their dance, and retired to their cabins for repose, and all was calm in the village. About half an hour before sunrising, the troops advanced in three divisions, and made simultaneous attacks in as many directions. The Indians were completely surprised, and incapable of much resistance. Well acquainted with the Indian mode of attack on similar occasions, the rangers dealt death and destruction in all directions, and with unsparing hands. Nor was it possible to distinguish age or sex, and an indiscriminate butchery followed, in the true savage style. Many were killed in their cabins, others attempting to fly, were shot or knocked on the head, and few escaped. At sun rise, the scene was truly horrible, and but for the sight of six or seven hundred of the scalps of their countrymen, suspended upon poles, and waving in the air, the trophies of the former cruelty of the Indians, the assailants would have been excited to pity. This horrid spectacle added new vigor, and sympathy for the sufferers, found no place in the breasts of the rangers, and in too many instances they continued to dispatch women and children indiscriminately; and a general conflagration of the cabins ended the scene, about seven o'clock in the morning. Out of about three hundred inhabitants of the place, two hundred were killed; twenty women and children captured, and five English prisoners, residing in the village set free; but most of the women and children were soon liberated.

The village appeared to have been in a very flourishing condition. Many of the cabins were well furnished, and the church was handsomely adorned with plate, and

the whole place had been enriched by the scalps and plunder taken from the English in the various wars. Two hundred guineas were found in money, and a silver image weighing ten pounds, besides a large quantity of *wampum*, clothing, and some provisions.\*

On assembling his troops, Rogers found captain Ogden and six privates wounded, and one Stockbridge Indian killed; and after an hour's rest, to refresh his men, and collect the provisions remaining in the village, he commenced his march up the St. Francis, and by Memphremagog lake, for Coos on Connecticut river. The detachment continued in a body eight days, at the expiration of which the provisions were entirely expended, and Rogers found it necessary to divide into several parties that the men might more easily procure subsistence by hunting, giving them orders to assemble at the junction of the great Ammonoosuc and Connecticut rivers, where he expected to find provisions forwarded by order of general Amherst.

Two days after separating, a party under ensign Avery, was overtaken by the pursuing Indians, and seven captured, but two fortunately escaped. Another party of about twenty, under lieutenants Dunbar and Turner, was attacked, and the principal part killed or taken, including the two officers. The party under Rogers, after several days of fatiguing march, and in a state of starvation, reached Coos meadows, where he entertained little doubts of meeting with ample supplies of provisions, but here he was disappointed. Provisions had been sent to that place by Amherst's order under an officer and party of men from Charlestown, but after remaining several days without meeting Rogers, or gaining intelligence of his party, they had returned down the river only a few hours before Rogers arrived at the place, and their fires were found still burning where they had encamped.

Reduced to this deplorable situation, and little or no game to be found in the woods, Rogers had recourse to ground nuts and lilly roots, which were collected, boiled to a mucillaginous consistence, resembling soup, and dealt out to the men, and this was found to preserve life; but a future supply was precarious, and little prospect remained of reaching Charlestown before they should fam-

\* Williams' History of Vermont, Vol. ii. p. 432.

ish. Rogers at length contrived to construct a raft of dry pines, on which he, with captain Ogden, one ranger, and a captive boy embarked, and floated down the Connecticut, leaving lieutenant Grant in command of the remaining party. At *White river* falls, the raft was unfortunately lost, and a new one constructed by the slow process of burning down trees, and separating them into logs of a proper length. With much difficulty the raft was conducted over *Waterqueechy* falls, and after meeting many other embarrassments, and passing other rapids, they arrived near Charlestown, where they were relieved by some people who were out from that place cutting timber, and conducted to the town. Canoes loaded with provisions were immediately sent up the river for the relief of the other sufferers, who arrived at various points on the river in a starving condition, after having lost many in the woods. A few reached *Crown Point*, subsisting wholly on roots and game procured on the route.

After collecting his scattering survivors at Charlestown, Rogers marched for *Crown Point*, where he arrived the first of December, and joined general Amherst's army. The whole loss of the detachment, after leaving the ruins of *St. Francis* was, lieutenants Dunbar, Turner and Jenkins, and forty six non commissioned officers and privates.\*

Not long after the evacuation of *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, general Amherst proceeded down the lake to penetrate into Canada, but meeting with storms, he returned and took up winter quarters. During the operations of Amherst at lake Champlain, general Wolf, with about eight thousand men, sailed from *Louisburg* under admirals Saunders and Holmes, and landed near *Quebec*: and after many difficulties thrown in his way, and a severe repulse at *Montmorency*, he by a daring movement, gained the plains of *Abraham*, in the vicinity of *Quebec*, and brought *Montcalm* to a general action, in

\* Rogers' Journal—Williams' Vermont, and oral accounts from the rangers.—In relating their individual sufferings, one of the rangers stated that the party to which he was attached, having expended the last morsel of food, was on the point of starvation, when fortunately an owl was discovered perched upon a tree. Instantly the bird was brought down by the eager shot of several of the men, dissected and distributed by the well known method of "*Who shall have this?*" He shared a leg, which he devoured without cooking, and by this refreshment, the party were enabled to continue the march, and at length arrived without the loss of a man.

which the French were decisively defeated, and both commanders killed; and a few days subsequently Quebec surrendered to the British arms. In the western quarter, Niagara surrendered to general Johnson, after a siege of several days, and the defeat of a French force which was collected at Detroit, Venango and Presque isle, and had advanced to succour the place.

After the capture of the posts on lake Champlain, general Amherst informed governor Pownell, of Massachusetts, that his operations would effectually cover the frontiers from further incursions of the Indians; on which the governor transmitted orders to Col. Israel Williams, for discharging the frontier garrisons, on the northwest quarter of the province, excepting those at Massachusetts and West Hoosac; submitting it, however, to his discretion to retain such as he might consider necessary, for the defence of any places still exposed. Conformable to his orders, Col. Williams, in the month of October discharged the small garrisons. That at Charlestown had previously been ordered by general Amherst, to join the army on the frontiers of New York. Forts Dummer and Massachusetts, and the post at West Hoosac, were now the only stations in which garrisons were maintained on the northwest quarter of the province. This year fort Pownall was built, on the west side of Penobscot river, by a body of Massachusetts forces, under the governor of the province.

Notwithstanding the capture of the French posts, in 1759, another campaign was necessary for completing the conquest of Canada; and during the winter general Amherst projected a plan for attacking the unconquered part of the province in three directions. The main army under the command of Amherst, was to ascend the Mohawk, pass down to Oswego, and after capturing the posts on the St. Lawrence, to descend the river to Montreal. Colonel Haveland, with a smaller force, to embark at Crown Point, and proceed to the same place; and Gen. Murray, who succeeded to the command of the army at Quebec, was to push up the St. Lawrence, and meet the other armies at Montreal; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, had concentrated his principal force. The several armies were early in motion; and so exactly had their operations been concerted,



that Amherst and Murray reached the vicinity of Montreal, on the same day; where Haveland joined them the next, with the force he had conducted through lake Champlain. Vaudreuil, finding further resistance vain, demanded a capitulation, and on the eight of September 1760, the whole province of Canada, was surrendered to the British arms.

Previous to the advance of general Murray from Quebec, M. de Levi, appeared before the place with a strong force from Montreal with the design of besieging the fortress. Murray, with about three thousand men left his works—met the French near Sillery, and a severe action took place, in which the English were defeated, with the loss of about one thousand, and that of the French was nearly equal. Levi commenced the siege which was continued some time, but finding his efforts ineffectual, returned to Montreal.

During the operations of the armies, a few Indians hovered on the frontiers, on Connecticut river, and threatened depredations. In the early part of the season, a regiment of New Hampshire troops under Col. John Goffe, was posted at Charlestown; but it was subsequently ordered to join Haveland at Crown Point, on the expedition against Montreal. On his route he was directed to open a road up Black river, and over the mountains towards Crown Point, which he effected with great expedition. The road was commenced at Wentworth's ferry, a short distance above Charlestown, and cut out about twenty six miles, to the present town of Ludlow, on Black river; thence the route led over the highlands, to Otter creek, and down that creek to a point opposite to Crown Point; and thence across the country to that post. The baggage was conveyed in waggons the first twenty six miles, thence on pack horses over the mountains, to the place of destination. From the mountain westward, a road had already been partially completed the previous year, by a party under Lieut. Col. Hawks, and a drove of cattle traversed the route, in the course of the campaign.\*

While Goffe's regiment was employed on the road, the trails of Indians were occasionally seen in the adjacent woods, but their force was too small to venture an attack.

\* Belknap's New Hampshire, Vol. ii. p. 305.—Major John Small's letter to Lt. Col. Hawks.

But a party appeared at Charlestown and captured the family of Joseph Willard, and conducted them to Montreal, a short time before it was invested by the English armies. This was the last incursion of the Indians on the frontiers of New England, during the war; and the bloody scene which had so long been open, now closed. The eastern Indians soon agreed on articles of peace, and acknowledged themselves subjects of the crown of England. Notwithstanding the war still continued in Europe, and a few provincial troops were raised in 1761 and 1762, New England was still exempted from further hostilities; and on the tenth of February, 1763, a general peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified by the belligerent powers in Europe.

The joy spread over the colonies, at the conquest of Canada, is hardly to be described. From the commencement of king William's war, in 1689, with the exception of a few short intervals to this event, the frontier people of the English northern provinces, were doomed to destruction, captivity and slaughter. Relieved from their embarrassments, they reoccupied their plantations, and new ones were commenced, and population began to spread. At the close of hostilities in 1760, notwithstanding the losses sustained by the incursions of the enemy, and the fatalities of the armies, the number of inhabitants in New England, was reckoned at five hundred thousand, and Canada in 1763, is said to have contained sixty five thousand French inhabitants.

At the period of the conquest of Canada, the territory now comprehended by the state of Vermont, contained but a small number of inhabitants, planted in the south east quarter, on or near Connecticut river. By the frequent passages of troops, and particularly scouting parties, through the country, the situation and fertility of the lands had been observed, and they excited the avarice of adventurers and speculators; and on application to Gov. Wentworth of New Hampshire, many grants of new townships were made. In 1763, the whole number west of Connecticut river, amounted to no less than one hundred and thirty eight, extending from the river to within twenty miles east of the Hudson, and a few contiguous to lake Champlain. On the east side of, and contiguous to the Connecticut, eighteen towns had been granted in

1764. In general they contained an area equal to a square of six miles, and a reservation of five hundred acres was made in each, for the governor, besides lots for public purposes ; and, within a few years

“ On every side the cleaving axes sound ;  
The oak and tall beach, thunder to the ground.”

The settlements in Vermont spread over a large extent of country, the planters principally from Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts—hardy, enterprising, and well fitted to encounter the fatigues and difficulties attending the planting of a new country.

While these enterprising people were thus subduing the rude forest, and villages and towns were every where rising for their comfort and convenience, measure were in train for the promotion of science and literature. In 1769, a charter was granted by New Hampshire, for a college in that province ; and Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, who had founded a charity school at Lebanon, in Connecticut, for the instruction of Indian youth, and had for sometime contemplated its removal, was appointed president of the college. Several places were examined for a proper site for its establishment ; and in the spring of 1770, Dr. Wheelock, accompanied by Mr. Pomeroy, explored the western part of New Hampshire, then principally a wilderness, and finally selected a township on the left bank of the Connecticut, since named Hanover. The place selected for the college was an extensive flat, shaded with lofty pines, with no accommodations, excepting two or three log huts, and no other buildings on that side of the river, within two miles, through a continued and dreary wood.

Accompanied by about seventy people, Dr. Wheelock commenced the clearing of the ground, where a few acres of pines had been felled previous to his arrival. Log huts were soon constructed, and a small framed house began for the reception of the doctor's family, and the frame of a college building raised ; but the autumnal storms setting in, earlier than usual, put a stop to the work. During the winter, the snow lay four feet deep, and the sun, from the propinquity of the surrounding forest, was invisible until it rose nearly to its greatest altitude. Finding it difficult to procure water for wells, it was determined to remove a small distance southerly,

by which this difficulty was overcome. Here a circular area of six acres, was soon cleared of the lofty pines, one of which measured two hundred and seventy feet from the but to the top; and in 1771, the college buildings being prepared, thirty students were admitted members. The first commencement was held in August, the same year, when four young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, one of whom was John Wheelock, son of the doctor, and since president of the college. The institution was named Dartmouth, from its principal benefactor, the earl of Dartmouth, of England, and has been endowed with respectable funds, and a considerable landed estate. The institution is now prosperous, and holds a respectable rank among the literary establishments of New England.\*

While the country was thus improving, difficulties arose with New York, respecting the title of the lands. By a grant made to the duke of York, in 1763, that province claimed the territory of Vermont, and the grants by governor Wentworth, west of Connecticut river, were viewed as encroachments upon their limits, and a long and violent contest ensued. At length, in 1777, the inhabitants of the "New Hampshire grants," as they were designated, assembled by delegates, at Westminster, and declared themselves a free and independent people, by the name of *Vermont*; and made application to the congress of the United States, to be admitted into the confederation. This proposition met with a strong opposition from New York; but on the eighteenth of February 1791, all difficulties terminated, by an act of congress, admitting Vermont into the Union. The state now holds a respectable rank in the American family, and by the census of 1820, exhibited a population of two hundred and eighty five thousand seven hundred and sixty four free inhabitants.

During the war of the revolution, though the western borders of Vermont were not exempted from incursions of the enemy, no important event occurred on Connecticut river, within the state. But several towns in the neighborhood did not wholly escape the common calamities. In the beginning of October, 1780, a party of British and Indians, under lieutenant Horton, made an in-

\* M'Clure's and Parish's Memoirs of Dr. Wheelock.

read towards the Connecticut, and Royalston, on White river suffered severely; twenty one houses were burnt, and a number of people taken and carried off. Several houses were also consumed in some of the adjacent towns, and a few people captured. A body of militia marched from the settlements, on Connecticut river, under Capt. House, to oppose the enemy, and a skirmish ensued, in which several lives were lost. Finding the country roused, the enemy soon retreated down Onion river, to lake Champlain. The insurrection in Massachusetts, in 1786, and 1787, in which some lives were lost at Springfield and other places; and a predatory expedition of the English in the war of 1812, completed the military operations on Connecticut river.

From the first settlement at Weathersfield, Hartford and Windsor, in Connecticut, to the conquest of Canada in 1760, about one hundred and twenty six years had elapsed; during nearly forty of which the frontier people of New England were almost constantly harrassed by Indian and French wars, in which blood and treasure were profusely expended; many people captured, and forever exiled from their native country. The progress of settlements was much retarded. Agriculture, science and literature found no safe abode; life was rendered doubly precarious, and domestic happiness much abridged. At the termination of the war in 1763, the towns on the Connecticut in New Hampshire and Vermont, were new and many destitute of inhabitants, and covered with their native woods. On looking at the picture now presented, how striking the contrast!—More than fifty towns border the Connecticut above the northern boundary of Massachusetts; and the whole upon the river are not less than eighty; in most of which are compact villages, many exhibiting taste, elegance and wealth. And if those on the highlands and smaller streams, are less compactly situated, they are not inferior in point of wealth and respectability. While we in tranquility enjoy the *boon* acquired by our fathers, let us remember their toils, their dangers and their sufferings; and that this boon has been obtained, at the price of their blood.







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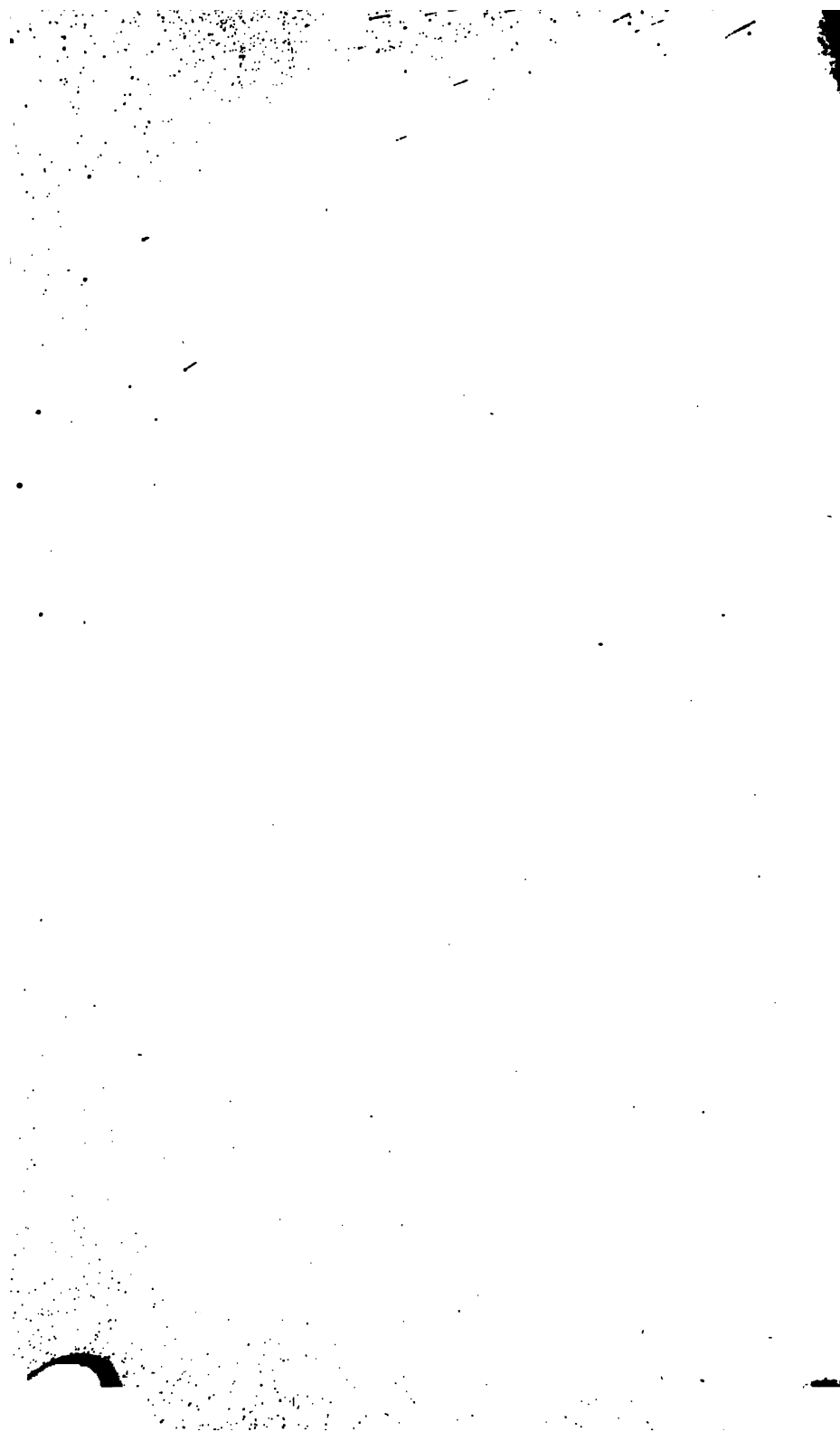
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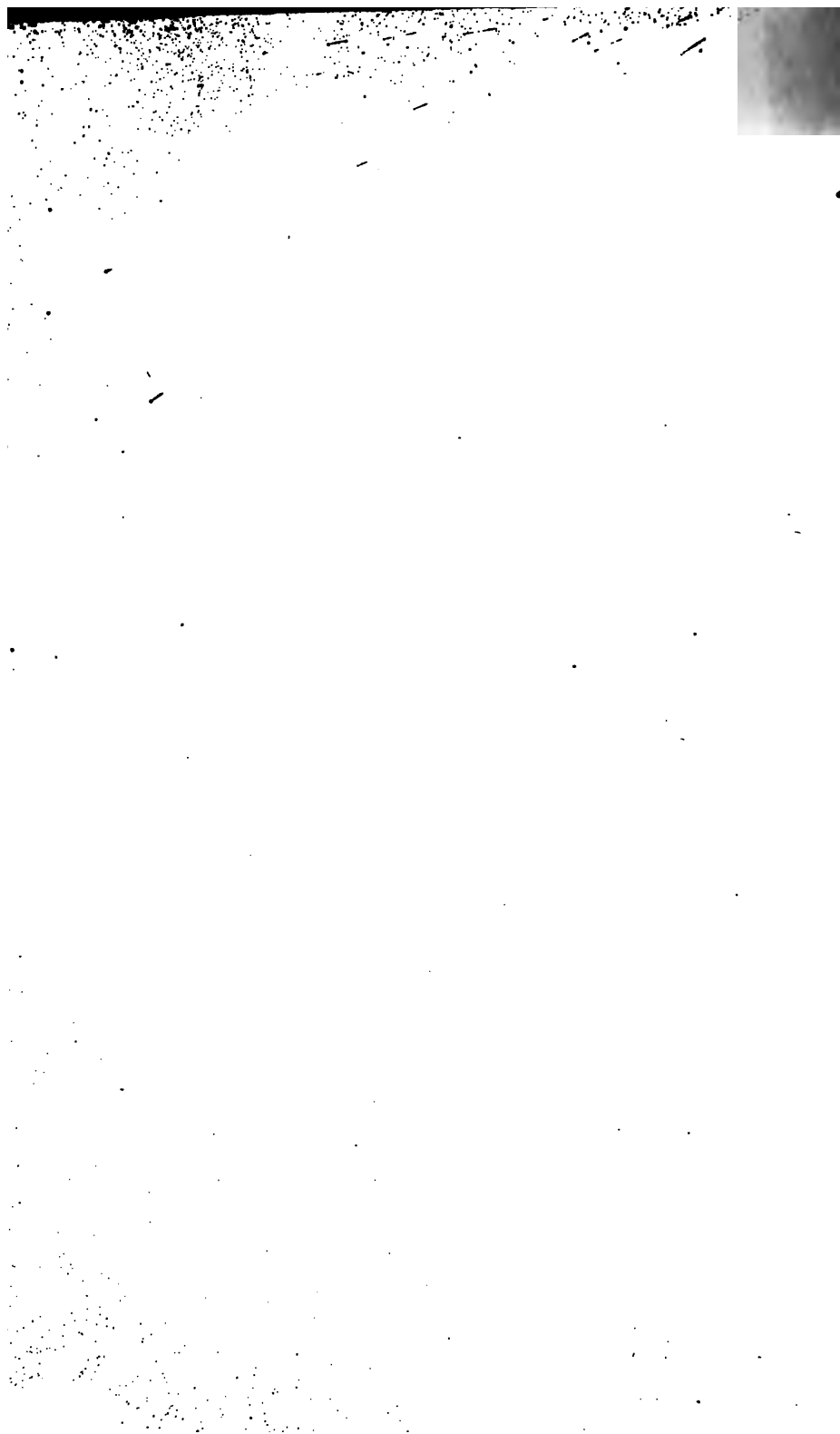
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